

Ez mafê xwe dizanim!

I know my rights!



Manual on human rights education and the right to
mother tongue education

Based on the experiences of Kurdish youth workers and Kurdish
language teachers in Turkey



Content

Introduction: Berfin's story - Memo Şahin.....	6
Berfin... - Ahmet Altan.....	16
Introduction to the Erasmus+-project.....	18
Towards methodological conceptions of minority and language status, policy and rights - Krzysztof Lalik.....	21
The modern debate on minority and language rights	22
Language status and policy	29
Language policy	33
Endangered languages scales.....	35
Legal protection of minority and language rights	39
Conclusions.....	48
References:.....	51
Kurdish language and multicultural education in Turkey - Karol Kaczorowski	53
<i>Jagiellonian University in Krakow (Poland)</i>	53
A brief introduction to multicultural education.....	53
Turkish education system and its reforms	56
The problem of Kurdish language in the Turkish education system	57
References:.....	60
Kurdish language and the transmission of values through literature, film and the works of art - Joanna Bocheńska	62
<i>Jagiellonian University in Krakow (Poland)</i>	62
Kurdish identity and transmission of values	62
Kurdish cultural institutions and cultural initiatives	65
Kurdish literature and films as a necessary bridge between the traditional and modern worlds....	69
References:.....	73
The Kurdish Language in the Official Discourse in Turkey (İbrahim Seydo Aydoğan).....	74
Introduction to Kurdi Der	91
10 Benefits of Mother-Tongue Based Education	94
The educational system at Kurdi Der schools	96
KURMANCÎ.....	97
ANADİLDE EĞİTİMİN ÖNÜNDEKİ ZORLUKLAR	98
'DEVLETİN DAYATTIĞI SİSTEM ANADİL DE EĞİTİM KRİTERLERİNE UYMUYOR'	98
Application of Kurdi Der at the European Court of Human Rights	99

PRECLUSIONS ON TRAINING AND EDUCATION IN MOTHER TONGUE.....	102
Examples of activities on Human Rights Education from the manual Compass.....	109
<p>'Compass: Manual for Human Rights Education with Young people' was published in 2002 within the framework of the Human Rights Education Youth Programme of the Directorate of Youth and Sport of the Council of Europe. The manual of Compass, which can be downloaded in English on http://www.coe.int/en/web/compass/home contains games on topics such as democracy, human rights, children's rights, education, environment, equal rights for women and men (gender), press freedom and freedom of expression, urbanisation, labour, violence and discrimination and many more. From which we chose following examples.</p>	
Act it out	109
Fighters for rights	113
Path to Equality-land	121
Mother Tongue Multilevel Kurdish Education in Northern Kurdistan - Olga SewiŃo, Oskar Podlasiński	126
<i>Jagiellonian University in Krakow (Poland)</i>	126
Abstract	126
Introduction.....	126
The aims and methodology	127
The Kurdish language and it's legal situation in the Republic of Turkey.....	129
International conventions concerning minority languages.....	131
The education system in Turkey.....	132
Public education	133
The Kurdish language institutions	136
Other cultural and educational institutions	140
Conclusion	144
References:.....	146
Anzaldúa, G. (1999). <i>Borderlands: la frontera</i> . San Francisco:Spinsters/Aunt Lute.	146
ASTENGIYÊN LI PÊŞIYA ZIMANÊ DAYÎKÊ	151
DI DERBARÊ DIBISTANA GEL DE.....	162
AVRUPA ÎNSAN HAKLARI MAHKEMESİ YAZI İŞLERİ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜNE	168
DI DERBARÊ EĞÎTÎ SENÊ DE.....	171
10 SUDÊN PERWERDEHIYA BI ZIMANÊ DAYÎKÊ	173
Anadilde verilen eğitimin 10 faydası	173
Anadilde verilen eğitimin 10 faydası	173
<p>Kürtçe eğitim yapan Diyarbakır Ferzad Kemanger İlkokulu'nda bir yıl geride kaldı. Anadilde eğitim hızlı öğrenmeyi sağladı, komünal anlayışla ders ve atölye materyalleri ortak kullanıldı</p>	
ŞARDEDARIYA MÊRDÎNÊ.....	175

Mamosteyê hêja merheba. Min li ser daxwaza we tiştên ku wê demê hatibûn pirsîn bi qasî ku di bîra min de mabun min nivîsîn. hêvî dikim bi kêrî we bê. silav û rêz.	177
Mamosteyê hêja merheba. Min li ser daxwaza we tiştên ku wê demê hatibûn pirsîn bi qasî ku di bîra min de mabun min nivîsîn. hêvî dikim bi kêrî we bê. silav û rêz.	179
Serpêhatiya Xebatên Ziman û Perwerdehî Bin Banê Şaredariya Bajarê Mezin de.....	183
Serpêhatiya Xebatên Ziman û Perwerdehî Bin Banê Şaredariya Bajarê Mezin de.....	188
ZIMANÊN MIRÎ.....	193
Recommendations to Turkish authorities.....	196
<i>Jagiellonian University in Krakow (Poland)</i>	196
Recommendations to European institutions	198
Recommendations to Kurdish institutions.....	199
A deeply human right. Conclusion about the use of the mother tongue. – Dirk Rohtus	200

Erasmus+ project

‘Ez mefe xwe dizanim!

I Know my rights!’

Kurdish Institute in Brussels (Belgium)

Jagiellonian University in Krakow (Poland)

Pro Humanitate in Cologne (Germany)

Kurdî Der in Amed/Diyarbakır (Turkey)



Introduction: Berfîn's story - Memo Şahin

Pro Humanitate, Cologne (Germany)



Rally for the allowance of Kurdish language in schools, on 11 June 2008 in Yüksekova.

She saw the light of day in a mountain village in Yüksekova. Her father gave her the name Berfîn (snowdrop), almost as an ambassador of spring to oppose the harsh winter, to bring light and to defy darkness, brought on by the difficult living conditions of nature, of despair and deprivation.

In November, with the snowfall, not only contact and connection with remote areas broke down, but even with neighboring villages, after which no one asked about rights and no one came by. Left to their own fate, they awaited the Berfîns and Sosins (hyacinth). Because with the Berfîns, the hope came up to have survived at least until the next hard winter came.

Berfîn chuckled, scrambled, and delighted all around her with her radiant smile. Then she began to babble and talk cheerfully. When she was eight, she was told that she now had to go to school. She kissed her father's hand, as a sign of joy. But she first had to have an identity card. The father took his Berfîn, his hope, by the hand and went with her on the way to Yüksekova.

He took off his cap, folded it, put it in his pocket and knocked excitedly on the door of the registration office. His complexion had changed, his confidence was gone, his voice became shaky with excitement.

"I want to register my daughter."

"Name?"

"Berfîn."

"What?"

"Berfîn" the father repeated with his trembling and fearful voice.

"You cannot," the official said firmly.

"With us, girls are usually named Berfin, Nergiz (marigold) or Sosin."

"Berfîn is forbidden," the official said, and the tone of his voice brooked no argument.

"Berfîn is a flower, a flower that grows through the snow." The father tried to explain that the name meant nothing wrong with his broken Turkish.

"Berfîn is not possible. It is a separatist name. Where do you live? This is the Turkish Republic, there is no place for separatist names here", the official reproved him with a voice that was growing louder.

Berfin stood beside her father, without understanding the discussion that was becoming lengthy. It was about her name, that much was clear, but she could not understand what was going on. Because her hand was in her father's, she noticed that his hand had become wet during the discussion. And she asked him quietly in Kurdish: "What's going on?" The father took his index finger to his mouth and let her know that she should be quiet.

"What? Here, in the premises of a public authority, you speak Kurdish? What a lack of respect, what a joke!" the official complained.

"She's a child. She just said a few words. She asked what's going on. That's all."

"Listen well," the official said. "As if it were not enough that you want a forbidden name, now you even speak Kurdish in offices of the Turkish Republic. That will not do. Here you shall not speak Kurdish. If you dare do it again, I will call the police and have you locked up."

The father stood motionless, helpless, like a criminal, who had to be caught, with his head down, helpless. He would have preferred to go, but he could not move, his legs would not obey him.

After a short silence the official said: "Berfîn will not do. But Fatma, Ayşe or Hatice would be possible." And so he started summing up names, all of which were Arabic, but had taken on top popularity as Turkish names.

To put the discussion to an end, but also for their own state of mind, the father said, as if to put this impasse to an end as soon as possible: "Then she shall be called Fatê."

"That will not do," the official said. "Can you not speak Turkish? Separatist names are not possible. "

"Fatê, that is: Fatma. That's not separatist. We say Fatê to Fatma. "

"Good. Now we understand each other. The girl's name is Fatma. Well, now go and don't come near me again."

They took the identity card and set off immediately on the way to the village. On the way, Berfin asked her dad about the discussion and the reasons behind it. Embarrassed, the father tried to explain in simple terms what had happened and that her name on the identity card is Fatê. The little girl left it at that, bearing in mind the constitution of her father in front of the official, even if she could not understand it.

And so it was that on this day Berfin became Fatma on paper, thanks to the initiative and self-sacrificing efforts of an official.

After these experiences, Berfin's anticipation to go to school had gone. At first she did not want to go. But when her father implored, she did what she was told. Because there was no school in the village, they had to go to the neighboring village, which was five kilometers away. Day after day they would walk together with their peers from their village, the five kilometers back and forth.

It was early September. She slipped into her black school uniform, put on her white collar with crescent moon and star, and went with her parents to the village square, where the students gathered with their families. Then they made their way to the dusty paths to learn and to change the courses of their lives.

Once they arrived in school, they stood around in the school yard and waited. Finally someone in a suit and tie began to speak in a language she did not understand. The classes should be set up before school. Berfin's father told her that she should go to the place that was assigned to her, bent down to her and kissed her on both cheeks. Berfin was shy that day, standing in the courtyard in front of all the first graders. They lined up in rows, side by side, one behind the other.

After a short while a march was sung that she did not know and, as she later learned, the "National Anthem" was inharmonious, discordant, confusing and incomprehensible. Some children only moved their mouths, while others shouted lustily. After the march a flag was hoisted that she knew from TV and had seen in Yüsekova, when they were in the city to get her identity card.

Then an oath was raised which began with 'I am a Turk, sincere, hardworking' and ended with 'My being is dedicated to the Turkish beings', in an incomprehensible mess. Even now Berfin looked around confused. Had her friends not been with her, the other children from her village, she would have thought that she was not in a neighboring village, but had ended up in a neighboring country.

After this ceremony in the courtyard they were, group by group, taken to the classes. Berfin sat down with two of her best friends at a school desk. When the teacher entered the

classroom, an experienced student, who had not made it into the second class, shouted: "Get up!" Those who understood him, stood up. But the others, who did not understand him, Berfin among them, remained seated.

The teacher began to speak in this language she did not understand. Berfin's heart gradually sunk. She crouched in her seat and made herself as small as possible. With bated breath and an anxious look she watched the teacher. But the bell was rung, and she was freed for now from this horrible situation.

She met with the other children from her village in the schoolyard. Together they made their way home. On the five kilometer route Berfin did not speak a single word. When she arrived at home, she couldn't keep the tears in any longer: "I'm never going back to school." She had a fever and was sick. She did not eat, she didn't even drink a cup of water. When her father came home from the field, he found her in bed. He went to her and kissed her on the cheek. Silently he sat by her bed, until Berfin began to speak: "I do not want to go to this school. I don't want to go anywhere. I want to stay in the village. I ...". Her last sentence was drowned out by renewed sobs. She pulled the blanket over her head and was gone.

At night, she had nightmares and was wet with sweat. The next morning she remained in bed. Her dad went to the village square, to say that Berfin was ill and would therefore not go to school and returned home. The father did not go to the field, even though he had his hands full. The fields needed to be plowed and worked on before the rains began. "Work, field, school - nothing is as important as my Berfin. So what?", He decided, and sat with Berfin in bed.

Berfin brought on the subject again. She told a few more times what they had experienced at school and that she had not understood a single word of what was said there. In simple terms, the father tried to explain again and again to Berfin that she would soon learn Turkish, that she would have to continue her education, learn a trade and leave this painful life behind her, and that all the hopes of the family were in her education.

Out of necessity Berfin finally agreed, not least because it was her father, whom she loved very much and could not refuse anything.

The father went out to look at the chickens. Finally, he decided on one, caught it and handed it to his wife. Berfin's mother understood and went to the stove at once to start the job.

The next day they found themselves again in the village square. Together they ran over hill and dale and reached the school. Berfin went with her friends in the class and sat down at her place. When the teacher entered, she stood up. The teacher stood in front of the blackboard and said, "You now repeat what I say." Apart from a few children, no one understood it. Word for word he cited the oath 'I am a Turk, sincere, hardworking' and the children had to repeat

it. Berfîn also took pains to repeat the words while standing. And when she finally arrived at 'My being is dedicated to the Turkish beings', she sighed with relief and sat down.

The teacher came to Berfîn and asked her name. Berfîn stood silently, head down, guiltily and embarrassed, and could not speak. The teacher asked again, louder this time: "What is your name?" When he received no answer, he grabbed Berfîn's chin, lifted her head and said, as he beat his chest: "My name is Mustafa. I'm Mustafa." This time Berfîn had understood the question. "Berfîn" she replied. "What? Berfîn? On my list there is only Fatma," he said indignantly. "What's your name now, Berfîn or Fatma? Tell me!"

Berfîn realized that she had made a big mistake. Her father had explained to her, as best as he could, that in order to stay in school, she had to be Fatê or Fatma on the playground, and that she could be Berfîn outside school. He had warned her. But now it had happened. Berfîn had revealed herself.

"I am Fatê, Fatma," she said in a tearful voice. The teacher replied, "Your name is Fatma not Berfîn or Fatê! If I hear this name again, I'll break your legs. Do you understand me?" Teacher Mustafa hit her with the ruler on the head, indicated that she should sit and went back to his table.

That was the prelude to Berfîn's life with the dual identity that had started at the registration office and continued in school. From then on, when she was at home, in the village or around there, she was Berfîn, but at school and on the playground she was Fatma. It would go on like this for a lifetime. That it wasn't just for her like this, she would find out later. But these circumstances left an indelible mark on her personality.

She kept the promise she had made her dad. Despite all the obstacles, despite the difficulty of being informed and educated in a foreign language, in spite of the five kilometer route, day after day, with snow and rain, had to be made on foot, she went to school regularly.

By the time she had begun to learn Turkish, albeit slowly and only a few words. In fact, the price of learning was not limited to the mentioned difficulties; she also had to endure the blows with the ruler on the fingertips and the head, which the teacher gave for even the smallest error or mistake.

Inside and outside the school Kurdish was forbidden. The children spoke Turkish in the classroom and in the schoolyard, only to drop the Turkish after the last lesson, to adopt a new identity and to return to live in their native language. Penalties were put in place for children who were caught speaking Kurdish in school, and the children had to pay dearly for the small refuge of speaking in their native language - with beatings, exclusion from school or the penalty of standing on one leg.

Time passed, it became winter, winter was followed by spring, and so on ... Years passed and

Berfin finished primary school. One time her father took her aside, took her hands in his and said, "Look, I could not go to school. The little Turkish, I can, I learned when I was twenty in the military, in the Ali-school. The soldiers, who could not speak Turkish, were taken to a class and were taught Turkish there. Therefore everyday people made fun of us, taunted and insulted us: our personality and our pride was humbled by our peers. We were not only exposed to the wrath of the officers and commanders, because we could not speak Turkish. The fellow soldiers did not miss an opportunity to make fun of us and insult us. When all this became unbearable, I just took off and returned to the village. I told my father that I did not want the military, that I had been harassed and beaten daily. And he told me: "There is no way around it. How long can you live as a deserter? Look, you're married. Your wife is pregnant. Go back and endure what must be endured." When the soldiers came back from the military district, I had to do a two-year military service, which made three years in combination with the penalties that were added, and then I hastily returned to the village. I know that you have to endure a lot. But you're small. You'll soon forget. My wish is that you'll do better in life than we did and that you'll get out of this misery. "

Berfin promised her father to go to school. And after their talk, the father talked to relatives who lived in Yüsekova. He arranged a place to live with them for Berfin and registered her at the middle school in Yüsekova.

When autumn came, Berfin began attending school. Meanwhile she had learned halfway Turkish. She made new friends and was on her way to become a successful student. In her new school she noticed Hatice, who was a quiet, reserved student. In a short time the two became friends. During the breaks they played together in the school yard and chatted. Once Berfin talked to Hatice in Kurdish, because she felt like it. But Hatice could not understand most of it. Berfin could not understand that. She wondered how it could be that someone who was from Yüsekova, could not speak Kurdish.

Because they lived in the same neighborhood, the two walked home from school together. They had become inseparable friends. Once Berfin felt the need to pour her heart out to Hatice. "You know, actually I'm not Fatma but Berfin. Because the official refused to accept the name at the registry office, he changed it from one day to another, and I, Berfin, became Fatma on paper that day."

Berfin's confession had encouraged Hatice. After she was sure that they were close enough to confide in each other's secrets, she decided to tell Berfin what had made her such a closed person.

"My name is Sosin. The name Hatice was introduced to me when I was eight years, just like in your story. For primary school I had to go to the regional boarding school. Until I was eight, I could not say a word in Turkish. The school tore me away from my home, my family, my

environment. Except during school holidays and national and religious holidays, we were not allowed to leave the school. At school, in the cafeteria, in the dormitories, in the schoolyard, in other words, everywhere, it was forbidden to speak Kurdish, I had to learn in a language I could not speak. As a wing lame and plucked bird, I was locked in a cage and my connection to nature, to life was broken. I was a little kid, I missed my parents, my siblings, and even the other kids and the lambs, and because I could not do anything about my homesickness, I went to bed at night, pulled the blanket over my head and cried and cried silently. Speaking Kurdish wasn't the only thing that was forbidden. Even crying was not allowed then. Before school, when I was still in the village, I had been a happy, lively child. Almost too lively, a real chatterbox ... But the regional boarding school made me a sealed, introspective child. Even when I was on vacation in the village, with my family, I did not say another word in Kurdish, fearing that someone might realize it and blacken me. The others asked me a question in Kurdish and I answered, as I had understood it, in Turkish. I had come to the conclusion that Kurdish was responsible for everything that I had gone through as a child. So if this language was causing all this, then I will banish it from my life, I thought.

At school hardly a day went by that we weren't told that no tribe of 'Kurds' actually exists, that there's no such thing as a 'Kurdish' language and that the Kurds are actually 'mountain Turks' and that the word Kurdish therefore comes from the fact that they live in the mountains and the snow under their feet grinds and makes 'kart-kurt' noises, and that their language is nothing more than a mixture of Turkish, Arabic and Persian. Not only that, it has also been claimed that all languages originate from Turkish and that the Turkish civilization has spread over the entire world, that the heroic Turkish nation has dominated three continents and is the true guardian of Islam. Once one of our teachers, who was from Ankara, even said that the Kurds were wild and uncivilized and that they lived in caves and would even have a tail like animals. When I heard this, I ducked in my seat and made myself very little, I sank in the ground with shame. Discreetly I took my hand back to check if I had a tail. It eased me immensely to be assured that I did not. I had never seen my mom and dad naked, so I didn't know whether they had a tail or not. But I had already seen my brothers naked while they were bathing. They had none. So we are not Kurds, we belong to the true Turks, I concluded. I descended from the true Turks, I said to myself and was immensely happy about that. Every time I was in the village, I quarreled with the others around me for speaking Kurdish. I did my best to introduce them to the advantages of being and speaking Turkish. Eventually I noticed that Azad, a distant relative, began to search my vicinity. He had finished high school that summer, but had returned to the village, because he had not passed the exam for the university. At first I was not sure what he wanted. Maybe I showed him the cold shoulder because I thought that he was attracted to me. Soon Azad told me forcefully about the Kurds, of what they had gone through, about the different Kurdish bans, that the Kurds are not Turks, how many different countries there are in the world and how many different languages are spoken. He said that Kurds are also people and that all people are created equal, that this is also confirmed in the Koran; and that Kurds, if they are also people, also have rights and that the Kurds have repeatedly revolted to demand their rights, that these riots were bloodily beaten down every time and that people, men and women, young and old,

were then banished to unknown fields. Finally, he finished his words with examples and made sure that my eyes were opened to him.

At a certain point he said: 'Just look, is there a single village in your area, which is still standing, which has not been burned or destroyed? What have they done to be considered guilty? They lived withdrawn, didn't cause any harm to anyone and led a happy, albeit miserable life. Now their belongings have been taken away from them, now they are convicted to a life of hunger and misery in a foreign country. Go and look at these villages. They are deserted. Not even the storks go there. Because storks build their nests only in villages where there are smoking chimneys. 'After Azad's stories, I gradually began to understand. I became a new person and saw that everything he had told me was correct. Yes, that's my story."

Berfin was unsure what to say. After she had listened to Sosin, she found that she should actually be grateful herself. The rest of the way they were silent. When they arrived in their street, they fell into each other's arms and sobbed and wept.

From then on Berfin and Sosin were inseparable - fellow sufferers, confidants and best friends. Weeks followed weeks, months to months and years to years. Berfin and Sosin were allowed in the third class of middle school. After barely one month Sosin suddenly disappeared. No one knew where she had gone and what she was doing. One day, Berfin was on the way from school to home, when a stranger approached her. "My name is Azad and I come to greet you from Sosin. Now she can finally enjoy her freedom, like a dove that got its wings back. She is now a dove that beats its wings above the mountains and hills. She has decided to contact the fighters in the mountains and she has joined the guerrillas. She will not return. Tell her family that they should not be worried. It would not be so good if I told them, because they would think that she did it because of me. Therefore you should tell them. And don't tell anyone about me," the young man said and he quickly walked away.

On the one hand this decision by her friend filled Berfin with pride and appreciation, but on the other hand she was sorry that she would never see her best friend again. It was not long after that, when Berfin was in the first year of high school, that Azad reappeared. To see him filled Berfin with almost as much pleasure as if she had seen Sosin, as if she had finally come back. Azad told her what had become of Sosin, where she had gone, the regions in which she had fulfilled her mission. Finally, he said, Sosin had become a martyr in Dersim. Berfin collapsed, broke into violent sobs. "No, it cannot be, that must not be true. Sosin would not be allowed to die at this age. No one should die at this age. Alas, Fate, what has she done, that you would let her die at this age? She was a wing lame bird. And so young. As old as I am. No this cannot be. Oh death, how early have you placed yourself at our door?"

From then on Berfin was also interested in her textbooks for reading. She read all the time,

she explored and she questioned. One day a friend brought her a book. You should read it, he said, so that they could then talk about.

Berfin did what she was told. She read the book several times. She marked what she considered important. Then she added these points together and created a summary. When she read it, she was paralyzed, for she did not believe what she was reading.

Among these texts were the following findings of people who had laid the foundation of the Turkish Republic. Berfin carefully wrote everything on a piece of paper and hung it on the head of her bed:

- Parliament President Abdülhalik Renda and Deputy Interior Minister Cemil Uyabadın: "These two peoples must not live together on an equal footing. Therefore Kurdish must be prohibited and the Kurds must be assimilated. The Kurds are to be banished to the West, and their homes are to be colonized by Turks. The East (Kurdistan) is to be governed by the General Government in the manner of a colony ... all important positions are to be filled by Turks, who are from the west. " (1925, a report submitted to the Parliament, which was later elevated to a legal action)
- İsmet İnönü, Second Chief: "It is our duty to make all persons in this country under any circumstances and at any price Turks. We will eradicate the root of any elements that oppose Turkishness and Turkish nationalism. The property that we seize should serve the country, especially to be a Turk and a Turkish nationalist. "(Newspaper 'Vakit', 27.04.1925)
- Mustafa Kemal, First Chief: "We are directly nationalist and Turkicist. The foundation of our Republic is the Turkish society. The closer these people grown together with Turkish culture, the more powerful the Republic will be, based on society." (1928)
- İsmet İnönü: "In this country, only the Turkish nation has the right to ask for ethnic and racial rights. No one else has such a right." (Milliyet, 08.31.1930)
- Mahmut Esat Bozkurt, a Minister of Justice: "The governing way of Kemalism is nationalistic. This means the following: All is mainly for the Turkish nation. Only then come Islam and humanity. Only the Turkish nation has the right to demand national rights in this country. The other elements will not be granted such a right. It is pointless to hide the truth: The Turks are the only owners and masters of this country. He that is of Turkish descent, has only one law in this country: to be perfect servants and slaves of the noble Turkish nation" (Milliyet, 09.19.1930).

Some ten years later Berfin took these notes out again and read them again over and over. Then she thought for a while and compared them with the present. She startled when she saw that there was little difference between yesterday and today. Although a lot of time had passed since the 1920s, and despite the fact that Turkey had become an EU candidate, the situation was almost unchanged.

To her notes she added the following words of the Chief of Staff Yasar Büyükanit, which were probably meant as a warning:

- "Happy is he who can call himself a Turk! Who does not say this, is an enemy, and the necessary steps should be taken against him. "(27/04/2007)

This resulted in a complete picture, which now brought clarity to Berfin's head. She said to herself: " Büyükanit's explanation is a de facto confirmation of the 85-year policy. The Kurds do not say 'Happy is he who can call himself a Turk', because they do not think of themselves as Turks, but as Kurds. So they are doomed to misfortune.

As a natural consequence of this policy Kurdish names are still forbidden in 2008 and politicians and mayors who speak Kurdish are sentenced, journalists and writers are arrested, and it is forbidden for prisoners to talk to their relatives in Kurdish, even over the phone. Berfin, my first name, was banned 30 years ago and still is today. The book 'Through Wildest Kurdistan' by Karl May, whose works have been translated into forty languages, attracts the wrath of the state, because of the word 'Kurdistan'. There are no Kurdish schools, not even Kurdish kindergartens. Kurdish children are forced to be taught and trained from the age of seven in a foreign language, and if they are already behind on their peers in this 100-meter race, which is called life, then that is not only shameful for Turkey, but also for those in charge of the European Union who claim that policies towards Kurds in Turkey are changing and are being transformed. If they quietly continue like this, this shame will live with them.

This is my story. My short story, perhaps just a hundredth, a thousandth of what is imposed on Kurds. I reported what I had seen and experienced. To those who say I am biased, I reply: Yes, I am. Anyone who claims to be impartial, I recommend, to go to Kurdistan and to live there for a month.

It is impossible to learn something about the Kurdish reality, without seeing and experiencing it, and developing empathy, not even by just looking at stories and books. I want my story to conclude with an article by Ahmet Altan, of whose honesty in the Kurdish question, I am convinced. In protest against the still valid name ban, Ahmet Altan published his article from 2003, which bears my name, again in August 2008 in his column in the newspaper Taraf.

Here's Ahmet Altan, here's Berfin ...

Berfîn... - Ahmet Altan

When I hear that name, I see a child in front of me. It is a little off, a child with innocent eyebrows arched to the temples, with green eyes, from which sadness, coupled with anger, is expressed, with a pouting mouth. And I see snow, which is heavy on the slopes, violet rocks in the mountains, abandoned fields and betrayed people.

When I hear that name, I become a Kurd.

Then I'm the child of a despised, tortured, people, hit by flashes of evil.

Then I'm Moses who cannot part the Red Sea, Jesus, who does not descend from the cross and Mohammed, who could not emigrate to Medina.

I am helpless.

Angry.

Alone.

When I hear that name, I am a Kurd.

Berfîn means "snowdrops".

When I hear that name, I am a way, a lament, the sound of a shepherd's flute in the mountains.

I let my head hang a little.

I grieve.

I am always betrayed, and I am always the traitor.

They killed my children, called me murderer.

It is I, whose house was put on fire and who was banished, it is I, who brought the dead body of his son home one evening on an oxcart.

I could not sing or cry.

I am a Kurd and I should always be anything but a Kurd.

It is forbidden for me to name my children after my mother.

Berfîn means snowdrops.

And every time I hear that name, I become a Kurd.

Again they have banned the name Berfîn.

Laws, government, parliament - all that does not end the restriction. Out of fear for a name, they disregard their own laws.

They forbade children to be called Berfîn.

These are mysterious men. They hide their faces, hide their identity, move into the shallows of the state and deceive their own laws. They are afraid of children. They are afraid of songs, flowers, colors and names.

They are of my blood and put me to shame.

I am no longer one of them.

I'm not one of those that forbid children's names.

I'm not one of the oppressors.

I join the oppressed.

If someone says Berfîn, I become a Kurd.

And I expect the uprising of the Turks.

I want the voices of Turks to be heard who oppose those who forbid Kurdish children to bear

the name Berfîn.

Is there anyone from my race, who opposes this injustice?

Are there no Turks who share the grief and anger of those who are not allowed to give the name of their mother to their child? Are there any of my blood, who will protest against these injustices?

Is there no one who is ashamed of this silence, who is uncomfortable to find their own name under that of the oppressor?

Berfîn means snowdrops.

Once again they have forbidden children to be called Berfîn.

For years, these people have been afraid of a snowdrop.

For years, they have been afraid of children.

When I hear the name Berfîn, I become a Kurd.

Then I'm Moses who cannot part the Red Sea, Jesus, who does not descend from the cross and Mohammed, who could not emigrate to Medina.

I am a Berfîn in the mountains.

And I know fear - whenever I see the fear of cowards.

I am angry.

Helpless.

Alone.

** I wrote this article five years ago. Berfîn was already banned, and it still is today. And I'm still a little angry, a little helpless and a little lonely.*

Ahmet Altan, 15 August 2008. Taraf

Introduction to the Erasmus+-project

Kurdish Institute vzw, Brussels (Belgium)

This manual is the result of the Erasmus+-project “Ez mafê xwe dizanim”, which means “I Know my Rights” in Kurdish. The project aims to enhance the awareness of the universal right to education in your own mother tongue among Kurdish youth in Turkey, and to provide a methodological framework which can benefit youth workers, both in the Kurdish regions and in various European countries.

The project ran from October 2014 to September 2016 and was carried out by the Kurdish Institute in Brussels (Belgium), Jagiellonian University in Krakow (Poland), Pro Humanitate in Cologne (Germany) and Kurdî Der in Amed/Diyarbakır (Turkey).

The case of Diyarbakir (Amed)

Diyarbakir (Amed in Kurdish) is considered the capital of the Kurdish region of Turkey. The over one million inhabitants of the city and the province exemplify the Anatolian ethnic and linguistic mosaic. The largest group are Kurds, but there are also significant Assyrian, Armenian, Turkish and Arab communities who make up the historical and social fabric of the region. According to a recent survey only 15% of the people in the Diyarbakir province consider Turkish their mother tongue.

This multi-ethnic and multilingual reality is not reflected in Turkish state policy. Turkish is the only official language and the only language allowed in public education. This strict monolingual policy reinforces the already severe socio-economic subordination of Kurdish people in the province.

Due to decades of violent conflict, deliberate economic neglect, scorched earth policies and structural discrimination, employment and economic development in the region are among the lowest in the wider European region. Many Kurdish families fled from the surrounding villages to the larger urban centers, creating a self-fulfilling concentration of multidimensional exclusion and generational poverty.

Importance of mother tongue education

Research shows almost unanimously that children who don't receive primary education in their mother tongue are burdened with an unsurpassable disadvantage in their educational career, making social promotion impossible. This has consequences that widely transcend the educational sphere and affect Kurds, and other language minority youth, in all aspects of their life.

The UN recognizes the need for a consideration of pluralism in education in different conventions. Due to the failure of the Turkish state to comply with these, and other, articles of the convention, local Kurdish NGO's, like Kurdi Der, started providing Kurdish language classes as well as after-school homework classes in Kurdish. These NGO's don't limit

themselves to the educational sphere but support Kurdish youth in all aspects of their lives through different kinds of social and youth activities.

Fertile ties between European and Kurdish youth workers

The particular cultural and social context of the Kurdish community was the starting point of this project. We think however that the Kurdish experience can transcend its own local context and contains lessons on exclusion and how to fight it for a wider European public.

One of the objectives of this Erasmus+-project is raising awareness about the need and importance of mother tongue education, which is a theme with great relevance not only for Kurdish communities but also for multicultural Western European societies. This manual is based on the experience of Kurdish Youth and Kurdish Youth NGO's in Diyarbakir (Amed, Turkey) within the framework of Human Rights Education. We strongly believe however that the lessons learned from their experiences and the methodological framework which was developed, could be used in different kinds of similar contexts in various European countries (e.g. Roma, language minorities or migration youth).

This project is innovative since it takes as its starting point a very severe situation of exclusion, which is scarcely known in European countries. The Kurdish question is generally not considered a European problem, but keeping in mind the close relations between Turkey and the EU, and the presence of large Kurdish communities in Europe that keep close relations with the Kurdish communities in Turkey, we feel the European Union has a strong responsibility concerning the Kurdish question.

On the other hand Kurdish youth workers can benefit from the rich variety of materials and methodologies, both practical and theoretical, which are developed on the issue of youth work and human rights in the European Union. These kinds of materials and methodologies are almost completely absent in Kurdish, so this project will fill a real need in this respect. Kurdî Der is already very active in the youth field, but lacks professional support. This project will also serve as a boost for the work Kurdî Der is already doing.

Furthermore we hope that the important work in creating these fertile ties between Kurdish and European youth workers doesn't end with this manual, but can be continued in the future.

Serious deterioration of situation in Kurdish region of Turkey

The situation in the Kurdish region has changed dramatically since the start of this project in 2014. Back then Kurdi Der was already operating in difficult circumstances, facing police repression and general hostilities from Turkish authorities. In the months leading up to the electoral breakthrough of the pro-Kurdish Peoples' Democratic Party (HDP) in June 2015, mob violence and even bomb attacks against Kurdish political parties, organizations and activists flared. The Turkish government ended the peace process with the Kurdish PKK-guerrilla and by the summer of 2015 the Kurdish region had turned into a general war zone.

In response to the government's decision to end the peace process, several Kurdish cities declared self-rule. The Turkish government reacted by declaring round-the clock curfews on

the rebel cities and sending in the army with tanks. During the military operations hundreds of civilians were killed and entire cities were demolished, more than 350.000 Kurds are now homeless. Many pro-Kurdish politicians, journalists, teachers, lawyers, activists and academics were arrested and Kurdish mayors were replaced by special administrators appointed by the Turkish government.

In Diyarbakir nearly half of the old Sur-district, a UNESCO-heritage site, was demolished, first by Turkish forces and afterwards by bulldozers, rendering several thousands of the 24.000 inhabitants homeless.

Obviously, these developments didn't make the work of Kurdi Der any easier. To make things worse their school got closed down by the Turkish authorities and in May the co-chair of Kurdi Der, mister Ozan Kilic, got arrested. He is currently still in jail, awaiting his trial.

After the failed coup attempt of July this year the general repression in Turkey got even worse, with several tens of thousands of people arrested and more than 80.000 people fired, among them all of the university chairs and several tens of thousands of teachers and academics.

When we started this project in 2014 we chose to put a strong emphasis on societal change, activism and empowerment. The aim of the methodology had to be to bring about change, to better the social position of the youths involved. We felt that sometimes in European youth work this urgency is missing. The main societal issue that we advocate is the universal right to mother tongue education.

Obviously, with the recent dramatic deterioration of the situation in Turkey, raising awareness in Europe about this topic on the one hand, and providing much needed support to Kurdish youth workers in Turkey on the other, has only become more pressing and important today. Kurdish youth work needs European support now more than ever and we generally hope this manual will inspire European youth workers to get involved in promoting educational human rights, both for Kurdish and for other young people.

Towards methodological conceptions of minority and language status, policy and rights - Krzysztof Lalik

Krzysztof Lalik, Jagiellonian University in Krakow (Poland)

It seems worthwhile to notice that any issues on the role of a language in a society can be considered in at least three significant dimensions: cultural, legal and a political one. The cultural dimension concerns mainly sociological, psychological, anthropological and linguistic aspects of its usage. The legal one embraces generally all laws that influence the official status of a language in a state or an organisation and legal consequences that entail its usage. Finally, the political dimension largely affects the two previous ones. Firstly, by creating by the state authorities an atmosphere of freedom or restriction of public expression of a particular language; secondly, by adjusting a level of its discrimination or promotion in public spheres and given institutions as well as enacting and exercising a specific law and finally, by enacting and exercising a specific law and resolutions that determine the language's official and unofficial status and its development and intergenerational transmission. In the following chapter we will attempt to expound popular scientific theories on language status and policy as well as to explore current legal, mostly international standards on language rights. However, it seems advisable to precede such deliberation with an introduction about condition of contemporary academic debates on an ethnic minority and language rights. To omit any misinterpretations we should specify the adjective "minority" used in the terms "an ethnic minority" or "minority rights". In both cases it is comprehend in academic and legal discourses, not only in a mathematical meaning referring to groups defined quantitatively, but also in terms of political and cultural rights i.e. in reference to groups that in spite of making up a large population of a state, does not enjoy full and equal access to and participation in mainstream state institutions in comparison with the political majority group of the state. Therefore, there is little doubt that the Kurdish population, although deemed the second largest ethnic group in Turkey, may also be considered as a minority in case of not possessing equal political and legal rights in respect of their culture and language.

The modern debate on minority and language rights

Today a number of scholars agree that language, besides ethnicity, common religion or history, is the key factor that defines people's individual and collective consciousness and identity (see Smith, 1999, Simpson, 2007, Joseph J. E., 2004). But the vital role of languages has not always been acknowledged all over the world. In practice, the difference we can apparently discern in historical approach to so called nation states and non-dominant ethnic groups, as it was described by Miroslav Hroch (1995: 66-68), a Czech historian and political theorist. Looking from a historical perspective he distinguished development of two principal types of forming modern nations. The first one was the establishment of nation states as a result of continuous development of the previous old nation states. In the aftermath of unifying reforms and revolutions their feudal structure progressed politically towards parliamentary system and civil rights while economically toward a capitalist free market. Members of nations from subjects became citizens and a nation became considered as 'a community of citizens of equal rights' (Hroch 1998: 96). However at that time, at the beginning of the 19th century, there were no ethnic groups claiming autonomy. A community of citizens of equal rights – this is apparently the most important socio-political feature of modern nations that distinguishes them from the nations of older centuries organized by a feudal relationship (Hroch, 1985: 8-10, 174; 2012: 61). For other scientists the most important factor in a process of forming modern nations were modernization and industrialization (Gellner, 1983:19) or reformation and secularization (see Anderson, 1991: 9-36).

The second way to establish modern nations Hroch sees in a process of development of nations from stateless communities (*non-dominant ethnic group*) which had weak, if any, tradition of high culture expressed in their own language and an incomplete social structure (usually without members of ruling classes and elites). They lived in areas of multi-ethnic states, whose formal, official language was as strange for them as the dominant state's culture. Moreover, any social advancement of a member of these minorities required from him/her approval of a language and identity of the ruling majority (Hroch, 1995: 67-70).

However, despite historical differences in establishing modern nations and discrepancies in estimation which factors were crucial in this process: secularization, reformation, modernization, industrialization or a desire to create a community of citizens of equal rights, many scientists point out that from the onset of modern national states language has become

a fundamental tool of the state authorities in urging nationalism and state-building processes because enforcing usage of an official or national language fosters cultural homogenization of the vast majority of the state inhabitants, which consequently facilitates sharing by them similar national/ethnic ideas and feelings (Gellner, 1983; Kymlicka, 2001; Spolsky, 2004). This is a very important remark since all the above mentioned five central social, economic and political modern processes have not overlapped or coincided in every part of the world, and even not necessary in the very west. We even cannot state that some of the processes, especially secularization, are moving forward irreversibly. During the last century in the Middle East one can easily find a fluctuation of a direction in political changes and tendencies and social moods ranging from secular nationalism, through leftism and communism up to advance of political Islam (Islamism) from about the 1990s.

Historically Eduardo Ruiz Vieytez (2001) divides protection of religious, ethnic and linguistic minorities into five periods. The first stage began in the seventeenth century with Congress in Westphalia (1648) and Treaty of Olvia (1660) that guaranteed protection of some religious minorities. During that time the legal shield for minorities was entirely incorporated into international treaties. The second period started with Treaty of Bucharest (1812), and the Congress of Vienna (1815) and referred to some freedom and autonomy for certain national minorities (Serbian and Polish). The third phase was marked by the peace treaties signed after the end of the First World War (1919) that introduced on a grand scale a system of protection of national and ethnic minorities in Europe and the Middle East overseen by an international organisation - the League of Nations. The fourth stage commenced the interception of the part of the tasks of the League of Nations by the new international organisations: the United Nations (1945) and the Council of Europe (1949). The last, still ongoing period was indicated by the fall of communism regime in Central and Eastern Europe and following the introduction of new juridical resolutions at both bilateral and regional levels (Vieytez, 2001: 5-6).

Nevertheless, for many decades a prevailing belief was that cultural homogenization and introducing one national language in a state principally led to positive changes in the world, like the emergence of national states and modern educated nations, because of at least three reasons. Firstly, since the national states repeatedly introduce a modern standardized educational system that step by step embraces more and more of their citizens. Secondly, because the spread of homogenous and standardized national education and culture stimulates and hastens the exchange of knowledge and ideas, and thirdly, for the reason that

acquiring national education through schools and universities favours raises people's knowledge, job competences and social mobility (Gellner, 1983: 76-81). As Will Kymlicka wrote, "In most democratic states, governments have typically adopted the majority's language as the one 'official language' i.e. as the language of government, bureaucracy, courts, schools, and so on. All citizens are then forced to learn this language in school, and fluency in it is required to work for, or deal with, government." (Kymlicka, 2001: 78). As Spolsky specified "[b]y the nineteenth century, following the French Revolution's proclamation of political and linguistic nationality (...) and confirmed by the German concept of nation as a cultural reality, belonging to a linguistic minority was commonly a cause for peripheralization, exclusion or, at best, forced assimilation (Spolsky, 2004: 115). Therefore, "[c]ompulsory education and universal military service became techniques for standardizing the national language" (Ibidem).

As it was said ethnic and linguistic rights were not assumed a universally accepted standard of international dimension until the end of the First World War. The followed Treaty of Versailles introduced provisions in favour of rights for linguistic minorities and self-determination of ethnic and national groups which lived especially in Central and Eastern Europe and the Middle East. In the second half of the 20th century scientists and politicians noticed that the adoption in state administration and educational system of the majority's language had also some negative impact on ethnic minorities whose mother tongue was different than the official one since it induced their assimilation and put their mother tongue's endurance at risk. As Kymlicka noticed, while the policy of imposing one official language, "is often defended in the name of 'efficiency', it is also adopted to ensure the eventual assimilation of the national minority into the majority group. There is strong evidence that languages cannot survive for long in the modern world unless they are used in public life, and so government's decisions about official languages are, in effect, decisions about which languages will thrive, and which will die out." (Kymlicka, 2001: 78). In fact, the world's spoken languages, identified numerically by UNESCO for as much as 6 000, most of which can be reckoned minority languages, are disappearing very fast and some scientists predict that 90 -95% of them may be extinct or seriously endangered by the year 2100 (Izsák, 2012: 6).

On the one hand, in modern history we can see longing for establishing national unity and homogeneity as nationalistic-oriented states have strived to attain a situation where political entities, especially the sovereign ones, coincide with national entities according to the principle of nationalism pronounced by Ernst Gellner that 'political and national unit should be

congruent' (Gellner, 1983:1), and one of the crucial processes of building national unity is the dissemination of one standardized national language over the nation area. Thus, language policy becomes an important instrument of implementing nationalist ideology. On the other hand, and in opposition to this tendency, ethnic minorities have endeavoured to take appropriate political and legal measures to preserve their culture and ethnic identity by assuring continuity and survival of their mother tongue. Step by step, law and policy makers started to adopt some legislation in furtherance to main linguistic diversity of a state. This was substantiated by the idea of civil or human rights of all members of a society and with the upsurge of scientific interest in the phenomenon of ethnic minorities, immigrant ones in America and indigenous ones in Europe, led, firstly, to an anti-discrimination activity, and later to creation of programs and conceptions aimed at providing and justifying equal opportunities.

Kymlicka distinguished three stages while pondering over evolution of public **debates on minority and language rights** after the Second World War. The first one was the pre-1989 debate conducted specifically under the circumstances of the Cold War and actually was not a principal subject of public opinion at all, conditioned by the overwhelming clash between the idea of capitalism and communism. However, there were some theorists who undertook the topic during the 1970s and the 1980s reflecting the discussion over minority rights as an important equivalent to the traditional debate of that times between liberals and communitarians or between individualists and collectivists. The former affirm liberation over any inherited or ascribed status of individuals finding group practices as the creation of individual choices, while the latter view individuals as the product of social practices denying "that the interests of communities can be reduced to the interests of their individual members" (Kymlicka, 2001: 19). Communitarians then deem ethnic minorities worthy of legal protection, firstly, because they still maintain a communal way of life and, secondly, since they are most at risk in the world dominated by individual-minded majority. Therefore, they see minority rights as a proper means of protection for ethnic groups/minorities from a debilitating impact of individual autonomy. To put it briefly, the pre-1989 debate on minority rights gave rise to appearance of two outlooks being at opposite poles: the first one perceiving minority rights as shield for cohesive and communally organised minority groups against the advance of liberal individualism, while the second one defending primacy of individual and liberal rights over communal principles and values (Ibidem).

The next stage of the debate on minority rights, started after 1989, laid bare the artificiality of both liberals' and communitarians' standpoints since most ethnic groups in Western democratic countries do not apt to relinquish modern liberal societies. On the contrary, they seek equal participation in benefits of modernity and liberal society like democracy, education, literacy, technology, mass communication or social mobility. Even if some ethnic or national groups work toward secession or autonomy it does not mean that they want to form an illiberal society based on pre-eminence of communal practices. Indeed, either national majority or ethnic minorities are ordinarily favourably disposed towards liberal principles, though we can find exceptions of a few ethnoreligious sects. So, the question that has appeared here is not whether the minority groups are liberal, but what the extent of their inclusion in liberal majority's rights and achievements is, and their understanding of the role of ethnic identities, a language, freedom of faith and beliefs within multi-ethnic liberal and democratic societies. In short, the second stage debate deserts the previous opposition between liberal and communitarian ideas and asks a question about paradoxical legitimacy and scope of minority rights within a liberal theory proving that some minority claims, in spite of enjoying the traditional civil rights, are undoubtedly consistent with liberal values.

In his attempt to unravel the supposed contradiction between a minority claims for extra rights and the traditional rights ascribed to all citizens Joseph Raz takes a stance, "that the autonomy of individuals – their ability to make good choices amongst good lives – is intimately tied up with access to their culture, with the prosperity and flourishing of their culture, and with the respect accorded their culture by others" (Kymlicka, 2001: 21). Hence, Raz, Will Kymlicka, David Miller, Jeff Spinner and Yael Tamir uphold that minority rights propel this cultural thriving and mutual respect, though Kymlicka added that some kind of minority rights could undermine individual autonomy. Therefore, he distinguishes two kinds of rights that might be claimed by minority groups. The first one, named by the author *internal restrictions*, comprises collective rights designed to protect a group as a whole from enfeebling influence of internal disagreements caused by individual choices of its members. The second kind of rights, called *external protections*, are earmarked against a larger society with the purpose to protect the minority group from the debilitating impact of external pressures e.g. economic or political decisions. But when the external protections are too inflated they can become illegitimate and provide a minority with economic or political ascendancy over other groups. So, to be more precise, minority rights for groups are consistent with liberal values if they protect freedom of

their members and support relations between groups based on equality that prevents dominance attitude (Kymlicka, 2001: 22-23). One might believe, as Michael Walzer (1992) does, that this postulation, especially of equality without domination, is true only when the liberal state pursues a principle of ethnocultural neutrality that precludes favour for one official majority's culture at the expense of other minorities' cultures, similarly as it abides by religious neutrality. Some are prone to widen such an neutral approach of a state insisting that the liberal state should be neutral with reference not only to religion but also to language, history, literature and a calendar of its internal social groups. They point out that this, in fact, makes the main difference between liberal 'civic nations' and illiberal 'ethnic nations' with the former clinging to neutrality as far as the ethnic and cultural identities of their citizens are concerned, and defining national membership solely in terms of compliance with a set of principles of democracy and justice, while the latter focusing on reproduction of particular ethnic/national culture and identity. Thus, claiming special rights for minorities is understood by adherents of 'civic nation' as a deviation from liberal rules. However, the presupposition of cultural neutrality seems to be oversimplified and highly idealistic, and actually does not find corroboration in practice.

Will Kymlicka proved that even such liberal and multinational democracies as the USA, Canada or Belgium cannot be considered as purely ethnoculturally neutral states since their governments have frequently attempted to promote throughout all its territory one or more 'societal cultures' (in contrast to 'national/ethnic cultures') with one – that of political majority - usually taking up a dominant position. Even being far from ethnocentric bias, inequality or cultural imperialism that promotion actually challenged state's cultural neutrality and, eventually, contributed to so called 'nation-building process'. It pursues a number of aims which on the one hand, heighten cultural homogeneity of the whole society and, on the other hand, enhance social equality and political cohesion in modern states. For example, it is believed that the standardization of public education in a common language rises an equal opportunity of all citizens to work in the modern economy since it asserts equal access to mainstream state institutions. Moreover, sharing the same societal culture spurs a sort of solidarity in furtherance of state welfare by fostering a sense of common collective identity and membership. Margaret Canovan likens the nationhood to a battery that makes states run since the existence of common national identity motivates and mobilizes citizens to act for common political goals – and these goals can be liberal i.e. serve to democratization and social justice as

well as illiberal i.e. to mobilize citizens against alleged enemies of the nation, namely, foreign countries or internal dissidents (see Kymlicka, 2001: 26). So, the question that has emerged in current, the third stage of the debate, on minority rights is no longer how, in the context of minority rights, to justify a state's departure from a norm of neutrality, but rather do majority craving for national unity and engagement in nation-building process create injustice, whatever intended or inadvertent, for minorities and whether the minority rights can ensure protection against that unfairness (Kymlicka, 2001: 27). The fear of unfair treatment by the state, as Leslie Green noticed, has been repeatedly an argument of ethnic minorities in their claims for independence (Green, 1987: 641-644). Actually, the juxtaposition of minority expectations and majority power has drawn a discourse on minority rights to reject an absolute character of the state independence in favour of a universal dimension and comprehension of principles of justice. The interpretation of these principles of justice has been made primarily on the ground on universal human rights. According to Paulston (1997: 76), historically the phrase 'human linguistic rights' appeared not sooner than in the 1990s promoted by such scholars as e.g. Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Robert Phillipson with the intention to place the language rights under the protection of universal human rights. The same author underlines that the term 'linguistic rights' began to replace the previous popular one – language rights – only after 1979 (Ibidem).

Although disturbed balance between minority expectations and majority power and activity can probably never be recovered (if ever was), it is, as one might expect, confined not only to stark instances of unfairness, but mostly to slight differences in their participation in profits generated by state-run systems. As Taylor (1997: 34) pointed out, some of the standardized values and communication means used by democratic states during their nation-building processes are aimed at giving preference to the majority's mother tongue in state institutions, thus smoothing a path to a career for members of the national majority whereas hindering it for the members of minority groups whose vernacular is different than the official state-sponsored language. Hence, minority groups often complain that they do not have full and equal access to opportunities for social and individual development offered in liberal states since their mother tongue, social practices and customs are not sufficiently recognised in public, which lead them to level accusations of discrimination against them by a majority group. The reasoning is that if the majority can engage in legitimate nation-building, then why should minorities be deprived of that right. We can say that generally, minorities facing a program of majority nation-building have three basic alternatives i.e. they can:

- a) accept integration, unconditional or negotiated, into the majority culture and values;
- b) strive for the some kind of rights and powers of self-government necessary to retain their own societal culture through founding their own political, educational, economic and cultural institutions run in their mother tongue, thus, involving themselves in their own and competing way of nation-building process;
- c) approve permanent marginalization while sustaining attachment to their own culture (Kymlicka, 2001: 27-28)

Of course, such a division is made merely for methodological purposes and in practice you can find groups caught between these three options, especially between the first and the second one, because extreme isolation of a group with the acceptance of permanent marginalisation is a scarce attitude among ethnic minorities, found only in some religious sects. It must be stressed that the liberal principles set some critical limits on a nation-building process envisaging that neither that of nation majority nor minority can be total and perpetrate ethnic cleansing or violation of human rights. On the contrary, a nation-building process “must respect the right of other nations within its jurisdiction to protect and build their own national institutions” (Kymlicka, 2001: 29). To recap, Kymlicka proposes to view minorities’ rights neither as a contradiction to a liberal society and its rights nor as “a deviation from ethnocultural neutrality of the state, but as a response to majority nation-building” (2001: 38) that introduces predominance of the majority’s societal culture, including its mother tongue, in state institutions, thus downgrading the status of minorities’ culture and language. Minority rights can be then considered as an eligible action of self-defence against abuses in a majority’s nation-building process and as an entitled step towards preservation of their own culture and language.

Language status and policy

Language policy is one of several factors that determine the overall language status in a specific community. Language status was explained by Heinz Kloss and William Stewart as a position of a language vis-à-vis other languages used in the society and is defined by five features: **language origin, official language policy, degree of standardization, vitality and status**

of linguistic rights. Language origin tells us whether a specific language is indigenous or imported to the speech community. A degree of standardization is the extent of development of a set of norms that define the use of standard language accomplished by some significant group of people i.e. ensued either from an agreement between the regulators of the language, such as philological academies, ministries of education, etc., of the definite state or simply acknowledged by the intelligentsia's elite of a specific language/ethnic group. A status of linguistic rights can assume various forms as: one official language, joint official language, regional official language, promoted language (without national or regional status but sometimes used by public institutions for specific functions), tolerated language (accepted but ignored) and proscribed language (forbidden by official law) (Rubin J., Jernudd B. H., 1977). A status of linguistic rights is defined primarily by legal resolutions at two levels: national and international, including bilateral agreements. Due to the main theme of this chapter and their complexity the questions of the extent of legal protection of linguistic rights as well as the conception of language policy and vitality require more profound elucidation.

The language vitality is established by a ratio of users of a language in comparison with the total population and exposes a degree of a language maintenance, either through oral or written communication. While talking about language vitality we must refer to Joshua Fishman and Howard Giles who are considered as pioneer modern researchers in this field. Howard Giles along with Bourhis and Taylor figured out a conception of ethnolinguistic vitality in which three factors: **status, demography and institutional support** were seen as the most influential in survivability of an ethnolinguistic group. Each factor consists of a number of variables so status refers to social, economic, linguistic and socio-historical planes. Giles explains that the higher status of a group elevates its vitality. The second category, demography, can be explored in numbers of migration, immigration, absolute birth-rate and mixed marriage as well as distribution of the population over a national territory, a degree of its concentration and proportion to the other neighbouring ethnic groups. High demographic indexes improve collective vitality. Finally, the third factor, institutional support, includes formal representation in media, education and government services, and informal ones in cultural, religion and industrial organizations. The author claims that the more usage there is of language in these institutions the more vital a group is as a collective entity (Mac Giolla Chríost, 2003: 45; Edwards, 2010: 89-90). Although the researchers note that group's members perceptions of ethnolinguistic vitality may not always correspond with objective appraisal of outsiders, he

concludes that the perceptions may appear more vital in determining group and individual behaviour, which agrees with psychological observations. Bourhis devised even a so called 'subjective-vitality questionnaire', though in this short theoretical introduction the most important insights for us concern not the psychological aspects of language persistence but those that may be applied in language policy's compilation and implementation namely status, demography and first and foremost institutional involvement (Edwards, 2010: 91).

One of the ethno-linguistic vitality model's critic was Harald Haarmann who asserts that, even though it may be effectual in studying a macrolevel condition of a language, it fails to present more detail languages relations at a microlevel. He emphasises that to meet the latter challenge one must take into consideration all possible variables, both general and specific, which impact either directly or indirectly on language usage in the relevant ethnic group. Therefore, he elaborated a **language ecology conception**, based on prior Haugen's observations, opting for its holistic approach as "[f]ollowing the basic assumption that the interaction between ethnic groups is the result of environmental factors influencing their members, phenomena have to be analyzed in terms of ecological relations. The ethnic identity of any ethnic group comprises elements which are the reflection of a sum of experiences in the group's ecological settings" (Haarmann, 1986: 3). Hence, the ecological view should encompass the whole network of social relations which influence the variability of languages, moving along with a gradable scheme of language manifestation, from the most specific to the most general level: individual – group – society – state (Ibidem). To omit any ambiguous inaccuracy regarding this hierarchical structure Haarmann proposes definitions of society of state. He considers society as the most complex organization of social groups, including ethnic groups, which are subordinate to the society being, then, submitted to state because of its political power. He maintains that society cannot exist without the state's authority, whereas the state can be functional without society's support (Mac Giolla Chríost, 2003: 46-47).

On this ground Haarmann proposes an inventory of ecological variables pertinent to language condition in ethnic groups, which can be divided into seven categories, each one comprises of a number of components: ethnodemographic variables (size, homogeneity and distribution of an ethnic group), ethnosociological variables (e.g. social stratification), ethnopolitical variables (e.g. the relation between ethnic groups and the state, the institutional status of the group's language), ethnocultural variables, ethnopyschological variables, interactional variables (e.g. the degree of routine interaction with members of other ethnic

groups), and ethnolinguistic variables (Haarmann, 1986: 11-16). Haarmann drew up a resulting model for his conception of primary relations between language and ethnicity, where all applied variables refer to the behaviour of communities, not individuals.

Despite being more comprehensive and detailed than Giles's model, Haarmann's conception also meets with some sort of criticism. Firstly, some of the categories may be not fully independent of another, for example, ethnosociological, ethnocultural, ethnopolitical, ethnopsychological and interactional variables. Secondly, some components like group-state relations, an institutional status of language, organisational promotion of group interests or community's attitudes require further in-depth clarification. Thirdly, geographical, economic and historical factors are all avoided. Nevertheless, at least a few categories are very likely to become useful tools in evaluating some aspects of language policy in Turkey, especially the ethnopolitical one as the most influential on other factors since Haarmann concedes that "the functional range of ethnopolitical factors is best understood as an embracing category comprising all other functional ranges. This indication of an outer framework of ecological relations implies that political factors influencing the behaviour of ethnic groups form a general background for all other societal and intergroup relations (...). As all social conditions of ethnic groups are bound to the political organization of society in a given state, the components of the political systems must be indicated separately. It is assumed that the effect of ethnodemographic, ethnocultural or other factors on the behaviour of reference and contact groups can only be represented in an overall ecological system when these have been integrated into the general framework of a society's political foundation (or organization)" (Haarmann, 1986: 28).

Borrowing the notion of ethnic boundaries from Fredrik Barth, Haarmann is prone to perceive it as a scene of inter-ethnic conflicts noting that many ethnopolitical conflicts are triggered by the crossing of ethnic boundaries and ensuing attempts of assimilation (Haarmann, 1986: 57). Based on his study in the Soviet Union, Turkey and France Haarmann points out that crossing ethnic boundaries generally leads to either ethnic fusion (integration or assimilation) or ethnic fission (segregation or diversity). As a tactic for reducing ethnic tensions he proposes a prestige planning, which should "consist of a network of identity elements and evaluations, including many stereotyping components of self-identification and categorization of other ethnic groups and their languages. The term applied here refers to the whole mechanism of categorization which controls intragroup and intergroup relations." (Haarmann, 1986: 89). This

has to be designed with the aim to curtail conditions that make ethnic/ language conflict more likely to surface: “[i]deally, prestige planning in a setting of contact between a minority language and a dominant language is balanced so that the potential circumstances of ethnic friction and conflict can be reduced to a minimum” (Ibidem). Forming a range of ‘multiple identities’ offering alternative identities for ethnic communities’ members, embracing ethnic, social, economic and political status, seems to be a crucial element of prestige planning, which “warrants broad application because it can function as a strategy of activating those attitudes toward ethnicity which are likely to weaken ethnic conflicts and create patterns of multiple identities in speech communities” (Haarmann, 1986: 99).

Language policy

It is widely assumed that language policy refers to an authority’s, mostly governments, strategy usually closely combined with ethnic and national policy and expressed through legislation predicting legal status and scope of usage of a particular language or languages in a society both informally and in public institutions, especially educational settings. In practice, it gives or curbs the rights of citizens or communities to communicate in and preserve their mother tongue. The language policy may be designed and executed in different approaches that range from assimilation, non-intervention, policies of differentiated legal status, promotion of the official language, sectorial policies, bilingualism or trilingualism, linguistic internationalization policies, multilingualism and mixed linguistic policies. Yet, **language policy** is understood by Bernard Spolsky in a broader sense as a strategy of language usage formed and implemented not only by authorities but also by common speakers, who may follow this policy implicitly or explicitly, not always being aware of what language, social tenets and canons they do obey and convey to their interlocutors or oppose. Therefore, Spolsky underlines that the language policy may be implicit or explicit. He pinpoints four major features of the theory of language policy. The first is the division of language policy into three interrelated components: **language practices, beliefs and ideology, and management**. Language practices are the observable people’s behaviours and choices, which can be thought a policy, or policy’s symptoms precisely, since they are regular and predictable. It depends on many social variables such as age, gender, social class and status or ethnic attachment. The next key element of language policy is made up of beliefs and ideological views about language and especially about

its varieties, which are thought to play a vital role in individuals' group association and social identity, whether it is a nation, ethnic group, region, a company's staff or school class. The third component, **language management**, is defined by Spolsky as "the explicit and observable effort by someone or some group that has or claims to have authority over the participants in the domain to modify their practices or beliefs." (Spolsky, 2007: 4). The most evident forms of language management are constitution and law, both national and international, determining some manners of usage of the official language and passed by legislative or executive bodies and exercised, *inter alia*, by a judiciary system. The law establishes certain guidelines and constrains the use of a specific language in communication, for example, with government agencies, public institutions or in diplomatic, business meetings and correspondence. Although the three elements are found on every level of social organization of speech communities, they appear in different intensities. In families, for example, language practices and beliefs are found far more often than management.

The second essential facet of language policy is that it deals not only with general language traits but with "all the individual elements at all levels that make up language" (Spolsky, 2004: 40). The language policy may be then concerned with grammar, style, spelling, pronunciation, vocabulary as well as with 'correct' language or 'bad' language such as racist or obscene speeches. Moreover, it may affect both standard and autonomous as well as non-autonomous varieties of language. Handling and categorizing varieties of language are considered to compose pivotal questions in the study of language policy.

The next basic remark is that language policy permeates every language community irrespective of size and type of social bonds. Definable speech communities are called domains and encompass any social, political, religious or military group ranging from a family through a neighbourhood, a sports team, school, workplace, organization, medical or scientific institutions, village or city, nation state or regional alliance (Spolsky, 2004: 40). Spolsky notices that each domain can be influenced in the language choice, to a different extent, both internally by the speakers' conduct (language practices, beliefs and management within the domain itself) and externally either from 'below' or 'above' social levels (domains).

He further convinces that there is no room for doubt that language policy is closely linked with political units since, nowadays, states are an apparent centre of power, with a constitutionally legitimized supremacy of governments over their citizens. So, theoretically and in practice, both legislative and executive state bodies, mostly parliament and government, can

create and pass a constitution, law or regulation, more or less directly connected with a language policy and implement it, sometimes even without a society common consent. However, enacting and enforcing that policy is far more complex in a federal system or any sort of colonial dependency, which, in fact, is a part of Kurdistan and every Middle East country's historical experience. Spolsky suggests that the **relation between power and language policy** is two-way as power is needed to exercise the language policy laws, but on the other hand, a comprehensive implementation of a coherent language policy underpins the central state power system (Spolsky, 2004: 40).

The fourth key notion asserts that language policy operates within a composite ecological setting with a number of interrelated linguistic and non-linguistic variables. As Spolsky observes, "when we look at specific implemented language-management decisions, we often find either no result (the failure of preachers to eradicate blasphemy or of teachers to enforce grammatical correctness, for instance) or unanticipated results (the way that reversing language shift or language revival activities produce novel, undesired forms of language)" (Spolsky, 2004: 41).

As regards to domains, Spolsky follows Cooper's prerequisite that language planning study should not be curtailed only to state policy, but also has to include a family level since "the same processes which operate in macrolevel planning also operate in microlevel planning" (Spolsky, 2004: 42). He also agrees with Fishman that language choice can be best examined in the context of sociolinguistic domains, which can be describe by three major dimensions: participants, the location and topic. In the upshot of his study of the Latin district of the Puerto Rican, Fishman distinguished several domains of local significance: home, neighbourhood, church, school and work, of which the school he acknowledges as most likely to be influenced internally and externally, including activists intervention in favour of a specific language variety (Ibidem: 42-48). One must admit that language practices, beliefs and especially management are prone to differentiate in monolingual, bilingual and polilingual societies.

Endangered languages scales

All the above-mentioned ideas refer to language practices and policies without an apparent distinction drawn between statuses of respective languages used in Turkey. Hence, it is advisable to allude to the language theory of Joshua Fishman. It was initially articulated in his

book entitled 'Reversing language shift. Theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages'. 'Reversing language shift' was a quite seminal issue, suffice to say that previously scientists had been focusing mostly on the process of language shifting and loss of language diversity than its preservation. Fishman argues that "[s]tressing the wrong priorities is a very costly example of lacking a proper social theory or model of what RLS entails (...) The sociolinguistic landscape is littered with the relatively lifeless remains of societally marginalized and exhausted RLS movements that have engaged in struggles on the wrong front (...), without real awareness of what they were doing or of the problems that faced them." (Fishman, 1991: 113). He conceived a model for the stabilization and possibly revitalization of endangered languages, which comprises of a few phases: ideological clarification, RLS-measures, working plan and research phase. The last two phases interact closely with Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS), also coined out by Fishman, which appears to be valuable contrivance to both in ideological and practical stage of language policy. Any RLS initiative should be determined by the GIDS level of the language, which exhibits a degree of language endangerment ranging from stability to extinction (see: Table 1).

Table 1. Joshua Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS)

Stage 1	Some use of Xish in higher level educational, occupational, governmental and media efforts
Stage 2	Xish in lower governmental services and mass media but not in the higher spheres of either
Stage 3	use of Xish in the lower work sphere (outside of the Xish neighborhood/ community) involving interaction between Xen and Ymen
Stage 4	Xish in lower education (types a and b) that meets the requirements of compulsory education laws
Stage 5	Xish literacy in home, school and community, but without taking on extra-communal reinforcement of such literacy
Stage 6	the attainment of intergenerational informal oral language and its demographic concentration and institutional reinforcement
Stage 7	most users of Xish are a socially integrated and ethnolinguistically active population but they are beyond child-bearing age
Stage 8	most vestigial users of Xish are socially isolated older people and Xish needs to be re-assembled from their mouths and memories

Xmen refers to member of the language minority, while member of the majority is called Ymen. Respectively Xish means endangered languages, while Yish - dominant languages (Fishman, 1991: 395)

GIDS's scale envisages that the reversal of language shift can be best achieved by gradual advance whereas it is difficult to vault over to a higher level without contriving to get through a lower level. For example, Fishman maintains that schools can only improve a situation of an endangered language when it is immersed in the language community both among old and young generations. The most prominent phase is stage 6 as it ensures grounds for language revitalisation. Stages 5-8 are thought by Fishman 'the minimal basis' for RLS, where the endangered minority language (Xish) prevails in some more traditional domains e.g. communication at home or in religious settings, while the majority language (Yish) controls more modern domains e.g. media or public institutions.

Fishman theory of RLS has recently inspired some scholars to figure out a new model of GIDS for endangered languages as a theory agenda for UNESCO. Paul Lewis, along with a team of language scholars compiled a report advancing a scale of 'Language Vitality and Endangerment' (LVE) distinguished by nine factors:

- 1) intergenerational language transmission;
- 2) number of speakers;
- 3) proportion of the total population made up by speakers of the language in question;
- 4) loss of existing language domains;
- 5) response to new domains (including media);
- 6) materials available for purposes of education and literacy;
- 7) official language attitudes and policies;
- 8) speakers' own attitudes to their language;
- 9) amount and quality of relevant documentation (Minasyan, 2011: 3-4)

The measurement of endangerment is achieved by introducing a further evaluating five-point scale to all, but the second factors, where 0 represent the lowest value, whilst 5 means

the highest one. The scored points assigned to each factor places a language in a scale of endangerment. Following these findings in 2010 UNESCO published a report entitled 'Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger', in which it classifies the world's languages according to the LVE scale with intergenerational language transmission as decisive factor. The LVE scale embraces six degrees: safe, vulnerable, definitely endangered, severely endangered, critically endangered and extinct. The 'safe' degree means that all generations of a specific language community freely speak its native language, which is intergenerationally transmitted without obstructions. 57% of the total of over 6000 languages spoken in the world are considered are 'safe', so, in fact, the remaining 43% are endangered ones. The 'vulnerable' level is assigned to 10% of all languages and entails that most children speak the language, but it may be limited only to certain domains e.g. home or temple. 10% of languages are deemed 'definitely endangered' what alludes to a situation where the learning of a mother tongue by children at home is discontinued. Accordingly, the 'severely endangered' status, embracing 9% of all languages, implies that not only children no longer learn the native language but also their parents don't speak it with them or among themselves, though they may understand it while talking with older generations e.g. grandparents, who still use the language in daily communication. 10% of languages are thought 'critically endangered' and it denotes that solely grandparents and older generations speak the language, but occasionally and partially. As one might expect the 'extinct' degree signifies that there are no living speakers left of the language and it is believed that 4% of all languages find themselves in such a hopeless situation (Moseley, 2011: 4-6).

Among the definitely endangered languages indicated by UNESCO in Kurdistan we find a Kurdish dialect Hawrami (also called Gorani) used in the west of the Khuzistan province, Iran. The only vulnerable language in Kurdistan is a Kurdish dialect called Zazaki, popular in the south-eastern Turkey, the provinces of Musz, Erzurum, Sivas, Kayseri and Diyarbakir.¹

¹ See: Moseley, Christopher (ed.), UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger, www.unesco.org, [online] <http://www.unesco.org/culture/languages-atlas/en/atlasmap.html> - 05.08.2016.

Legal protection of minority and language rights

As Rui Vиейtez (2001: 5-6) stated the current condition of minority rights is mostly derived from the post-war years (after 1945) and the period after the fall of communism regime in Central and Eastern Europe. Although during that time concern for basic human rights and dignity was central and generally referred to non-discriminatory policy and basic freedoms like freedom of speech, association, religion, mobility or political organisation etc.. It spurred, to some extent, the current development of minority rights, both at a national and international level. Concurrently, both national and international legal documents have made more room for linguistic rights as well, though it must be stressed that these changes have not occurred at once, but they were preceded by a significant gradual shift in public opinion about comprehending minority rights themselves i.e. not as extra policy or a pragmatic compromise approved by democratic authorities, but as a matter of fundamental and universal justice. Consequently, this has led to two significant alterations. Firstly, it has put pressure to codify minority rights at both the international and national level, including constitutional protection. For example, Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe in 1991 endorsed basic norms regarding the rights of national minorities, and two years later a post of High Commissioner on National Minorities was appointed. The United Nations in 1993 adopted the Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, and in 2007 the UN approved the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2007. Meanwhile, Council of Europe accepted accord on minority language rights in 1992 (European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages), and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities in 1995 (Kymlicka, 2004: 35-37). Secondly, the extension of minority rights in granting both educational and autonomous rights has fuelled fear that it would induce us to overlook illiberal practices within immigrant groups and render a secession of national minorities more feasible (Kymlicka, 2001: 6-7).

The international instruments on minority and language rights are very important for securing them, but one must not forget that the national and international acts differ and have various legal weight. The main difference between them is that the former might be a quicker pass and also abolished by national legislative bodies while the latter as a covenant between sovereign nation states needs to go through a number of phases before its conclusive

implementation or invalidation. The signing and final ratification of it is usually preceded for many years of preliminary discussions and lobbying of the advocates of the accord and voting before an appropriate international institution. Obviously, as a treaty it applies only to these member states of the institution that firstly sign it and then ratify it. Therefore, any agreement passed by the General Assembly of the United Nations does not entail automatic implementation of it by all the member states. Nevertheless, when it comes to significance and implementations we can point out two kinds of laws, soft and hard. So called hard law requires a signature and ratification of all parties, while soft law documents (declarations, recommendations, etc.) have not got a form of a treaty and, hence, are non-binding upon states. Soft law is most applicable in imparting general principles, providing with a broad idea of proposed changes in law, whereas details of obligation remain to be clarified in further legal actions i.e. by hard law (Arzoz, 2007: 7-8).

Moreover, we can distinguish two categories of language rights aimed at linguistic non-discrimination or linguistic promotion. The former basing on tolerance of cultural diversity pertains to rights that protect speakers of minority languages from discrimination and assimilation, while the latter includes certain rights to exercise basic public services, such as access to public power institutions (government, courts, municipality etc.), education or public media with the usage of a minority language (Arzoz, 2007: 5). One might find other distinction of rights underling their three major functions in the relation between individuals and the state: *status negativus*, *status positivus* and *status activus*. The *status negativus* refers to freedom from interference from the state, while *status positivus* assumes that in some conditions the state intervention is necessary to provide the individual with certain freedoms (e.g. judicial protection, schooling, housing, health care etc.). By contrast, the *status activus* concerns the exercise of the individual's freedom within and for the state (representation and participation of minorities in state institutions). The distinction between *status negativus*, on the one hand, and *status positivus* and *activus*, on the other, is compliance with the idea that the "general ban on discrimination and other classical individual rights are not sufficient for the protection of minorities, and that their unique position within society justifies providing them additional constitutional safeguards" (Ibidem: 6-7).

So, as far as international law is concerned we can see a number of significant acts issued by several international bodies that more or less refer to language rights. Sometimes they invoke to these rights directly or through references to other human rights and freedoms e.g.

education, minority or labour rights. Especially rights related to education seem closely connected with regulations on a language. Yet, international law might be created by a two kinds of international bodies: global and regional ones. The global organisations are primarily the **United Nations (UN)**, **United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO)**, **International Labour Organisation (ILO)** and humanitarian organisations. Since the latter first and foremost pertains to acts regarding a critical conflict situation as rights of prisoners of war I will focus mostly on activity of the three first organisations.

The most universal and well-known documents issued within the framework of the UN and pertaining more or less to language rights are:

- The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948)
- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966)
- International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966)
- The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1966)
- Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989)
- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979)
- Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities (1992)
- Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training (2011)

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights in Article 2.1 put a language as one of the criteria that might not be used for discrimination. It is also the first international law that recognises education as a people's right. Article 26.1 states that "everyone has the right to education" and the next points of this Article say as follows:

1. Education shall be directed to full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups (...)"
2. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966), ratified by Turkey in 2003, introduced a few regulations regarding language rights. Articles 2, 4.1 and 26 of the 1966 covenant confirms a language as one of the criteria that shall not be used for discrimination of any individuals, while Article 27 says that “[i]n those states in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the rights, in community with other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language” (Spolsky, 2004: 120). In 1994 the United Nations Human Rights Committee reinterpreted Article 27 extending its definition of minority groups to immigrants and refugees (Ibidem: 120-121). Article 14 refers to judiciary administration stating that people charged with crimes are entitled to have the charge expounded in a language they speak, and that an accused can freely make use of an interpreter’s services (Ibidem: 117-118). These rights of defendants have been reflected in two treaties issued by the Council of Europe: the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. Moreover, Article 18.4 endorses parents’ priority to choose education for their children:

“The States Parties to the present Covenant undertake to have respect for the liberty of parents and, when applicable, legal guardians to ensure the religious and moral education of their children in conformity with their own convictions.”

International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, ratified by Turkey in 2002, in Article 5.e endorses “economic, social and cultural rights, in particular”:

- (ii) “The right to form and join trade unions”;
- (v) “The right to education and training”;
- (vi) “The right to equal participation in cultural activities”.

Then **International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights**, ratified by Turkey in 2003, in Article 2.1. stipulates that “the rights enunciated in the present Covenant will be exercised without discrimination of any kind as to race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status”. Article 13 is mostly insists on education development for all citizens saying that

1. The States Parties to the present Covenant recognise the right of everyone to education. They agree that education shall be directed to the full development of the

human personality and the sense of its dignity, and shall strengthen the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. They further agree that education shall enable all persons to participate effectively in a free society, promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations and all racial, ethnic or religious groups, and further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

Article 2 endorses compulsory of free access to primary schools (2.1), equal access to secondary and higher education, while Article 3 recognises “the liberty of parents and, when applicable, legal guardians to choose for their children schools, other than those established by the public authorities, which conform to such minimum educational standards as may be laid down or approved by the State and to ensure the religious and moral education of their children in conformity with their own convictions”.

Convention on the Rights of the Child, ratified by Turkey in 1995, in Article 17.d obligates State Parties to “encourage the mass media to have particular regard to the linguistic needs of the child who belongs to a minority group or who is indigenous”, while Article 30 widens rights of the child to participation in their own native culture:

“In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities or persons of indigenous origin exist, a child belonging to such a minority or who is indigenous shall not be denied the right, in community with other members of his or her group, to enjoy his or her own culture, to profess and practise his or her own religion, or to use his or her own language.”

Previous Article, 29.c, recognises parents’ privileges in education system saying that

“State parties agree that the education of the child shall be directed to (...) the development of respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values, for the national values of the country in which the child is living, the country from which he or she may originate, and for civilizations different from his or her own”.

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women confirms equality of all rights of women comparing with men, especially in educational availability and development on all educational levels, pursuing career, benefiting from scholarships and grants (Article 10.a-h), at work, employment opportunities (11.a-d), “social security, particularly in

cases of retirement, unemployment, sickness, invalidity and old age” (11.e), and “right to protection of health and to safety in working conditions” (11.f). Turkey joined the convention in 1985, but ultimately withdrew in 2008.

Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities (UN Doc. E/CN.4/1992/48 & Corr. 1 (1992) at 16-19) diffuses legal protection of identities of all national, ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic groups (referred to as minorities). Some of its provisions are so important to the question of rights of linguistic and ethnic minorities that it would be better to quote them as a whole:

Article 1

1. States shall protect the existence and the national or ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic identity of minorities within their respective territories and shall encourage conditions for the promotion of that identity.
2. States shall adopt appropriate legislative and other measures to achieve those ends.

Article 2

1. Persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities (...) have the right to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, and to use their own language, in private and in public, freely and without interference or any form of discrimination. (...)
3. Persons belonging to minorities have the right to participate effectively in decisions on the national and, where appropriate, regional level concerning the minority to which they belong or the regions in which they live, in a manner not incompatible with national legislation.
4. Persons belonging to minorities have the right to establish and maintain their own associations.
5. Persons belonging to minorities have the right to establish and maintain, without any discrimination, free and peaceful contacts with other members of their group and with persons belonging to other minorities, as well as contacts across frontiers with citizens of other States to whom they are related by national or ethnic, religious or linguistic ties.

Article 4

2. States shall take measures to create favourable conditions to enable persons belonging to minorities to express their characteristics and to develop their culture, language, religion, traditions and customs, except where specific practices are in violation of national law and contrary to international standards.

3. States should take appropriate measures so that, wherever possible, persons belonging to minorities may have adequate opportunities to learn their mother tongue or to have instruction in their mother tongue.

4. States should, where appropriate, take measures in the field of education, in order to encourage knowledge of the history, traditions, language and culture of the minorities existing within their territory. Persons belonging to minorities should have adequate opportunities to gain knowledge of the society as a whole.

5. States should consider appropriate measures so that persons belonging to minorities may participate fully in the economic progress and development in their country.

Article 5

1. National policies and programmes shall be planned and implemented with due regard for the legitimate interests of persons belonging to minorities.

The advantages of the declaration for ethnic minorities are unquestionable as it enacts coherent and consistent protection and equality of basic rights of their members preventing their discrimination from the policy run by the authorities of the majority group, which, consequently, facilitate cultural and identity development of the minority as individuals and as a whole group. Moreover, the declaration secures not only minority rights, but also territorial integrity of states clearly noting in Article 8.3 that “[n]othing in the present Declaration may be construed as permitting any activity contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations, including sovereign equality, territorial integrity and political independence of States.” Probably, that is why it has been unanimously adopted by the UN General Assembly.

Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training urges members of the UN to enable teaching programmes devoted to human rights education and training (Article 1), which should

be offered in “languages and methods suited to target groups, taking into account their specific needs and conditions” (Art. 3).

The International Labor Organization Convention no. 107, 1957, adopted the protection of indigenous and other tribal populations with the right for their children to have access to basic education (reading and writing) in their mother tongue, measures to preserve the vernacular languages and progressive transition from their mother tongue to the official language.

One of the most vital documents on language and educational rights issued by UNESCO, **UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education**, 1960. It is noteworthy that except articulating the fundamental principle of non-discrimination and equality of opportunity in education, it explicitly recognises minorities’ right to carry on their own education activities and endorses the establishment of voluntarily separate educational systems with a program and language of curriculum chosen according to pupils’ parents’ expectations, provided that it does not inhibit members of the minorities from learning a language of the whole community. Article 2.c of the convention avows that any group should not be excluded from the establishment and maintenance of private education institutions, but instead provided with educational facilities in addition to these delivered by public authorities. Besides, Article 4.b obligates State Parties to make primary education free and compulsory; secondary education in its different forms generally available and accessible to all and “higher education equally accessible to all on the basis of individual capacity”. It also recognises the right to basic education for youth and adults. Articles 2.b and 5.b determine the aims of education and provide parents with liberty to choose a type of education for their children, specifically as far as moral and religious instructions are concerned.

The most important bodies passing regional law on education and language affairs for Europe are Council of Europe and the European Union. Since the latter are not binding to Turkey and most of the 35 chapters negotiated in the scope of the EU accession process have not been closed yet I will concentrate here only on documents of Council of Europe. One of its earliest acts on human rights was Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms from 1950, ratified by Turkey in 1954, Article 14 confirms prohibition of discrimination on any ground such as language, national or social origin or association with a national minority. Moreover, Article 2 of the 1952 Protocol to the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights, ratified by Turkey in 1954, guarantees right to education, while “the State shall respect the right of parents to ensure such education and teaching in

conformity with their own religious and philosophical convictions". However, the most important acts on minority and language rights of the Council of Europe have not come to light until passing **European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages** (1992) and Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (1995). The former's preamble agrees that "the protection and promotion of regional or minority languages in the different countries and regions of Europe represent an important contribution to the building of Europe based on the principles of democracy and cultural diversity within the framework of national sovereignty and territorial integrity". Then, Article 7 encourages the Parties to base their policies, legislation and practice on, *inter alia*, "the recognition of the regional or minority languages as an expression of cultural wealth" (7.a), promotion of "regional or minority languages in order to safeguard them" (7.c), "the facilitation and/or encouragement of the use of regional or minority languages, in speech and writing, in public and private life " (7.d), and "the provision of appropriate forms and means for the teaching and study of regional or minority languages at all appropriate stages" (7.f). Article 8 obligates the State Parties to make pre-school, primary, secondary, technical and vocational as well as university and other higher education or substantial parts or all the education levels available "in the relevant regional or minority languages" as an integral part of the curriculum. The **Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities** in Article 12 states that "The Parties shall, where appropriate, take measures in the fields of education and research to foster knowledge of the culture, history, language and religion of their national minorities and of the majority. In this context the Parties shall, *inter alia*, provide adequate opportunities for teacher training and access to textbooks, and facilitate contacts among students and teachers of different communities". Moreover, persons belonging to a national minority, "have the right to set up and to manage their own private educational and training establishments" (Article 13) as well as "to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas in the minority language, without interference by public authorities and regardless of frontiers" (9.1), whereas "the Parties shall not hinder the creation and the use of printed media by persons belonging to national minorities (9.3). On the contrary, "in the legal framework of sound radio and television broadcasting, they shall ensure, as far as possible, and taking into account the provisions of paragraph 1, that persons belonging to national minorities are granted the possibility of creating and using their own media" (9.3). In both documents we can find many other provisions in favour of national and ethnic minorities and their language and educational rights, but unfortunately, neither the European

Charter for Regional or Minority Languages nor the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities has been signed by the Turkish authorities yet.

Conclusions

To summarise, from our analysis we may draw the following conclusions on the influences of state policy, minority rights and legal protection on language status and maintenance. Firstly, we noticed that although scientists hold different views on origin and key factors for establishing modern nations they frequently value national language as one of main means for supporting a nation-building process since enforcing usage of an official or national language fosters cultural homogenization of the vast majority of the state inhabitants, which consequently facilitates the sharing by them of similar national ideas and feelings. So, despite different phases of development of nation-building factors such as secularization, reformation, modernization, industrialization or an aspiration to create a community of citizens of equal rights, language has appeared to play a critical role in introducing both cultural homogenization and administrative cohesion of a state, leading often to assimilation of ethnic minorities into the majority national group.

Secondly, the history of a debate on minority rights shows that it has evolved from viewing them as ascribed intimately to illiberal and communitarian group, tended towards preserving their ethnic identity, to anti-discrimination attitude aimed at providing and justifying equal opportunities for all members of the minority group in compliance with liberal and democracy principles. The main question now is not how to protect a communitarian minority group from any cultural influence of the majority group, namely individualism, but how the minority rights can assure equal participation of minority's members in mainstream state institutions and equal access to opportunities for social and individual development offered in liberal state as well as how they can ensure protection against injustice induced by a hard-line nationalism of the majority group. Minority rights can no longer be viewed as a deviation from ethnocultural neutrality of the state, but as eligible action of self-defence against abuses in a majority's nation-building process and as entitled step towards preservation of their own culture and language.

Thirdly, Spolsky's division of language policy into three interrelated components: language practices, beliefs and management, seems meaningful for methodologically identifying

categories of different sociolinguistic behaviour and thus for detailed disclosure of forms of sources and manifestation of observable aspects of language usage and habits within a specific ethnic group. In fact, it might also reveal mutual dependence between different sociolinguistic variables, especially in the language management sphere since a state nowadays seems to have one of the most overwhelming impacts on determining means and manners of usage of the official language, and by the same token status of unofficial languages, through laws passed and executed by its legislative, executive and judiciary bodies.

Fourthly, following on Fishman's and Spolsky's findings we can set apart some domains (speech communities) vital for language shifting and choices, whereas the scope of the domains might embrace not only macrolevel, which seems more strenuous for meticulous studying in practice, but microlevel entities in small communities as well. So, the macrolevel domains regard to new and traditional media, public institutions, inhabitants of some villages, towns or regions, ethnographic and ethnic groups and even nation state or international alliance. At this level it is advisable to scrutinise language planning made and implemented by governments to detect any discrepancy between tactics applied by federal and regional power in this regard as well as to discern influence of that language planning on particular domains and its efficacy. At microlevel we can enlist entities such as home, neighbourhood, temple, organization, village, school or work. The educational system seems to be most vulnerable to internal and external spurs of language policy. Exposition of differences in language choices according to certain domains unveils their roles in a process of preserving and reviving of mother tongue or intensifying language shifting process.

Fifthly, by adjusting appropriate variables, indicated by Haarmann, Fishman and Lewis, we may distinguish which political and social factors have the most impact on language status in a particular community, of which intergenerational language transmission is considered by both Fishman and Lewis as a primary one to assess language endangerment. Thus, we may be able to determine language status and factors that contribute most to heightening language shifting or endangerment, especially in reference to GIDs and LVE scales, which particularly concerns minority languages, classified as unsafe (from vulnerable to extinct). Based on such findings we might attempt to account for reasons why people speak or do not their mother tongue or predominant language. To put it briefly, Haarmann's concept appears more suitable for identifying factors with most impact on language social status, while Fishman and Lewis' models might be better for evaluating the degree of language endangerment, whereas

Spolsky's concept seems the best one for a comprehensive study of language policy, especially to indicate how contemporary turbulent changes in political and social relations between ethnic groups translate into change and continuity of language practices, beliefs and management within these communities.

As far as legal provisions of minority and language rights are concerned, we noticed that they have been created as a kind of compromise between two seemingly opposite tendencies, that is to say, granting minorities equal rights for social and individual development and ensuring territorial unity of the states in case of possible secession of their national or ethnic minorities. Moreover, the linguistic/language rights are repeatedly interpreted as an extension of universal human rights. Thus, we can distinguish two general categories of language rights aimed either at linguistic non-discrimination that protect speakers of minority languages from discrimination and assimilation or rights endorsing linguistic promotion that secure their exercise of basic public services, such as access to public state institutions, education or public media with the usage of a minority language. Most of the legal treaties and declarations presented hereinabove fall into the first category but particularly: the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. The other documents frequently encourage the signatories to secure equal rights of the members of ethnic minorities to education not only in the official language but also in their mother tongue, confirming parents' prior right to choose education for their children, including schools other than those established by the public authorities, with the respect of their language, culture, ethnic identity, religion as well as human rights and fundamental freedoms. However, none of the most important acts on minority and language rights, the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, both issued by the Council of Europe, have been signed by the Turkish government yet. This indicates that the Turkey's development in securing full and equal rights to all their citizens, with the respect of their culture and language, still stays at low level in legal domain in contrast to legalities of most of European countries. Although it must be stressed out that Turkey has made some progress during last two decades in extension of minority rights, there is no doubts that much remains to be done, not only at legal but educational and administrative level as well.

References:

- Anderson B. (2006), *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, Verso, London
- Arzoz X. (2007) The Nature of Language Rights, *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe*, European Centre for Minority Issues, no 2, [on-line] <http://www.ecmi.de/fileadmin/downloads/publications/JEMIE/2007/2-2007-Arzoz.pdf>, access 17.07.2016, pp. 1-35
- Edwards J. (2010), *Minority Languages and Group Identity Cases and Categories*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, John Benjamins B.V.
- Fishman, J. A. (1991), *Reversing Language Shift: Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Assistance to Threatened Languages*, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters
- Gellner E. (1983) *Nations and Nationalism*, Basil Blackwell Publisher Limited: London
- Green L. (1987) Are Language Rights Fundamental?, *Osgoode Hall Law Journal* Vol. 25, no 4, pp. 639-669.
- Haarmann, H. (1986) *Language in ethnicity. A view of basic ecological relations*, Berlin: Mouton
- Hroch M. (1985) *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe*, trans. Fowkes B., Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
- Hroch M. (1995) National Self-Determination from a Historical Perspective, in: Periwal Sukumar (ed.), *Notions of Nationalism*, Central European University Press, Budapest
- Hroch M. (1998), *The Nature of the Nation*, in Hall J. A., *The State of the Nation: Ernest Gellner and the Theory of Nationalism*, Cambridge University Press, pp. 90-106
- Hroch M. (2012) From National Movement to the Fully-Formed Nation: The Nation-building Process in Europe, in: Gopal Balakrishnan (ed.), *Mapping the Nation*, Verso Books, London – New York, pp. 78-97
- Izsák R. (2012) Report of the Independent Expert on minority issues, Human Rights Council, United Nations General Assembly, 31.12.2012, no A/HRC/22/49
- Joseph J. E. (2004) *Language and Identity National, Ethnic, Religious*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York
- Kymlicka W. (2001) *Politics in the Vernacular: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Citizenship*, Oxford University Press, New York
- Kymlicka W. (2004) Individualism and Collectivism in the Minority Rights Debate, in: Yasutomo M., Fumihiko I., Tetsu S. (eds.) (2004), *Universal Minority Rights? A Transnational Approach*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart, pp. 13-57
- Mac Giolla Chríost D. (2003), *Language, Identity and Conflict. A comparative study of language in ethnic conflict in Europe and Eurasia*, New York, Routledge

- Minasyan A. (2011), UNESCO's Language Vitality and Endangerment Methodological Guideline: Review of Application and Feedback since 2003, [on-line] <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/cultural-diversity/languages-and-multilingualism/endangered-languages/language-vitality/> access 20.07.2016
- Moseley C. (2011), *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger*, UNESCO, Paris
- Moseley C. (2012), *World Oral Literature Project. The UNESCO Atlas Of The World' S Languages In Danger: Context And Process*, Cambridge, University of Cambridge
- Paulston Ch. B. (1997) Language policies and language rights, *Annual Review of Anthropology* no 26, pp. 73-85
- Recognition*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, pp. 99-103
- Rubin J., Jernudd B. H. (ed.). (1977), *Language planning processes*, Gruyter
- Simpson A. (ed.) (2007) *Language and National Identity in Asia*, Oxford University Press, New York
- Smith A. (1999), *Myth and Memories of the Nation*, New York Oxford University Press Inc.
- Spolsky B. (2004), *Language Policy*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press
- Spolsky B. (2007), *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics*, vol. 22, no 1
- Taylor Ch. (1997) Nationalism and Modernity, in: McMahan J., and McKim R. (eds.), *The Morality of Nationalism*, Oxford University Press, New York, pp. 31-55
- Vieytez E. J. R. (2001) The Protection of Linguistic Minorities: A Historical Approach, *International Journal on Multicultural Societies (IJMS)*, Vol. 3, no 1, pp. 5-14
- Walzer M. (1992) 'Comment', in Gutmann A. (ed.), *Multiculturalism and the 'Politics of Recognition*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, pp. 99-103

Kurdish language and multicultural education in Turkey - Karol Kaczorowski

Jagiellonian University in Krakow (Poland)

A brief introduction to multicultural education

Education (including education in mother tongue) is often considered as one of the central aspects forming identity, especially during secondary socialization (Fishman, 2010). It is widely understood as one of the most important means for inter-generational and vertical cultural transmission. Educational opportunities, along with economic advantages, are also often cited as one of most influential pull factors in migration studies (e.g., Todaro, 1969). Easy access to high-quality education also has proven to be a prominent reason for families to move to new neighbourhoods or cities (Barwick, 2014). This chapter aims at examining the problem of the Kurdish language in Turkey in the context of multicultural education in Turkey. It starts with brief information on the concept of multicultural education and arguments for a need for it in Turkey. The second part contains basic information on organization of education in Turkey and the third part analyzes problems with allowing the use of Kurdish language in the educational system in Turkey.

Multicultural education is a concept which emerged in the 1960s and has a connotation as a way of educating that secures equal opportunities for students coming from different cultures to realize their potential. Detailed definitions of the term may vary as some of its advocates point to changes in curriculum allowing voices of minorities and intercultural knowledge, others underline new techniques of teaching and atmosphere in the classroom while the concept is sometimes regarded also as a part of a greater social transformation. General principles of multicultural education remain, however, to a large extent the same among all theorists and scholars education studies. The concept has connotations with: teaching and practicing sensitivity to cultural discrimination and any forms of oppression, being student-centered, engaging with active participation of students, preparing students for living in an increasingly culturally heterogeneous society, and ensuring that teachers have been ready to teach students of different backgrounds (see: Gorski and Covert, 2000). Such a perspective on education does not, however, focus only on a culturally diversified host society, but also

includes, and is sensitive for cultural traits of the societies of origin of minority students². As a result of such an approach, underlined rights for minorities to have education on their own culture, including education concerning mother tongue. Chinaka Samuel Domnwachukwu (2010:1-17) – the author of the introduction to multicultural education – underlines that this type of education treats students as social beings embedded in cultural mosaic. It involves acknowledging and reflecting on one's own cultural identity and respecting cultural identities of others.

From the perspective of social psychology of migration it has been pointed out that bicultural education can lead to better performance of migrant students and their better integration. On the other hand, education with pressure for assimilation can result in negative effects on both performance and psychological adjustment (Phinney et al. 2001:503-504; Portes & Rumbaut, 1990).

An education system can also reproduce and strengthen existing inequalities within the society and legitimize unequal relations between groups and people from different classes. This negative aspect of education was underlined by scholars associated with a critical theory like Michel Foucault (1977, 1980) and Pierre Bourdieu (1984, 1991). They argued that schools are among the most influential mediums of cultural reproduction imposed on a society by dominating classes and networks of power. Foucault (1980) observes that state ideology and other networks of power use various disciplinary mechanisms and discourses which are sustained among others through the functioning of the judicial system, education and politics. Scholarly debates on citizenship in Turkey have led to a conclusion that education plays an important role in spreading national ideology of Kemalism (Içduygu, Çolak and Soyarik, 1999).

Many scholars and commentators, throughout the years, have been pointing to the role of public education in imposing state-centric nationalist modernization. After the 1980 coup, tendencies in Turkish education system mirrored general policy of the country, aiming on the one hand, at imposing high level of cohesion of society by promoting nationalist Turkish identity, but, on the other hand, pursuing integration with Western markets and European Communities. Constitution after 1980 military coup, has strictly forbidden broadcasting and publishing in

² Some may point out that Kurds in Turkey are not a minority recognized by law, nor are they a minority in quantitative sense in Turkey's southeast (Northern Kurdistan). They remain however a *minority* in a sociological sense, which has in mind the Turkish political and cultural domination. Remarks on need of a multicultural education in Turkey concern also other ethnic and religious minorities in the country such as Armenians, Laz, Alevis – and most recently – refugees from Syria of different backgrounds.

other languages than Turkish underlining that the latter is a language of the whole population of the country. This meant that citizenship education focusing on homogeneity of a society and perception of external danger was taught next to information on human rights and principles of democracy (see: Çayır and Gürkaynak, 2007:53-55). As a result, classes in public education included an introduction of more universal identity connected with human rights and international law, however, topics of citizenship and nationalism still focused on a single Turkish identity, state-centric modernization and affirmation of militarism. Especially obligatory classes on citizenship and state security (called *Studies in National Security* and led by military officers) were spreading a negative view of Turkey's neighbouring countries (especially Armenia and Greece) and minorities as threats to the country's stability and existence. The obligatory oath-taking in primary schools included swearing allegiance to Turkey, and the vow began with words stating that students are Turks, are righteous and hardworking. The rule of Muslim-democratic – Justice and Development Party, which started after parliamentary elections in 2002, brought changes in the education system aiming at closer integration with European Union and preparation for eventual accession of Turkey to the organization. The sphere of education remains an important part of negotiations and reforms undertaken by the government. Most profound of them, passed in 2005, have introduced new textbooks. In 2012 Kurdish was introduced as an elective class and in 2013 oath-taking, and classes on national security led by military officers were abolished (see: Gur 2016). Changes within in textbooks prepared after the 2005 reform were meant to include education on other groups in Turkey and to reduce appeals to nationalism and militarism. Scholars have, however, pointed out that upon close inspection the textbooks include minority groups with regards to discourse on tolerance but still legitimize unequal relations with them. Analyzes of them pointed to continuation of affirmation of narrowly understood nationalism (see: Çayır, 2009, 2015).

Although there are many critically oriented studies and publications done in Turkey among representatives of higher education³, it can be argued that critical thinking should be more stimulated within primary and secondary education. Ali Yildirim (2006) conducted a research on students and teachers perspectives on high school history textbooks proving that there is a need for presentation of knowledge encouraging for deeper understanding. According to the scholar, both teachers and students found the textbooks as concentrated only on

³ as exemplified by e.g. *Toplum ve Kuram* journal led by young social scientists or journal *Agos* connected with Armenian minority but focusing on many aspects of contemporary Turkey) and articles cited in this chapter.

transmission of knowledge and lacking incentives stimulating interest in subjects and development of thinking skills.

Turkish education system and its reforms

Turkish education system consists of primary schools, secondary schools (including general, technical and vocational high schools) and higher education. Primary education lasts eight years, secondary four years, and higher education at least two years. Both primary and secondary education has been obligatory since 2013. Education in high schools and universities that offers foreign language instruction in English, German and French is frequently preceded by preparatory courses lasting a year (MEB, 2015; COHE, 2014). Turkish Ministry of National Education recognizes universities, faculties and colleges, graduate schools, post-secondary schools, conservatories, post-secondary vocational schools, research and application centers as higher education (COHE 2014:7-8). In order to stimulate enrollment in the institutions listed above, The Higher Education Law No. 2547 was passed in 1981, establishing a central examination and the Council of Higher Education (Yükseköğretim Kurulu – YÖK). In 1984, the same reforms allowed to establish non-public universities by private foundations. The Council of Higher Education consists of distinguished scholars, former rectors and civil servants. YÖK consists of 21 members, 7 are appointed by the President of the Republic of Turkey, 7 by the Council of Ministers, and 7 by the Inter-University Council. The latter consists of two representatives from every university, the rector and a person elected by the institution's senate (COHE, 2014:6-7).

Since reforms in 2010, admission to higher education is based on results of two national standardized exams, Higher Education Examination (*Yükseköğretime Geçiş Sınavı* – YGS) and Undergraduate Placement Examination (*Lisans Yerleştirme Sınavı* – LYS), that are given in April and June, respectively. Admission to universities is carried by the institutions themselves and, it is based on a number of points obtained in these examinations as well as composite scores which usually include average grades obtained at the end of high school and results of interviews. The preparation and conduct of these examinations is supervised by the Student Selection and Placement Center (Turkish acronym ÖSYM) (COHE, 2014:6-7, 18).

Undergraduate studies in Turkey last 4 years and end with a Bachelor's degree, while graduate studies last 2 years and culminate in a Master's Degree. Higher education has been

organized in Turkey since 1999 in accordance with Bologna Process which mandates that it is possible to end higher education after 2 years of undergraduate studies and achieving *Önlisans Diploma*, which is equivalent to Associate's Degree in the United States. Turkey had 176 universities as of fall of 2014, with a total of 5 139 469 students pursuing a higher education in the previous academic year (MEB, 2015, p. 37).

In Istanbul – the biggest metropolis in Turkey – there are 11 public and 47 non-public universities lead by foundations. Istanbul University is the oldest university in Turkey, and it dates back to 1453, the year of the conquest of Constantinople. In fact, since that time The Ottoman Empire supported enrollment in religious schools – madrasah (tur. *medrese*). Madrasah in central Istanbul has been converted into an institution of higher education called *Darülfünun* (which can be translated as "a house of learning"). In the 17th century, in the framework of Tanzimat reforms of the Empire. This institution was renamed as Istanbul University, after the proclamation of The Republic, as a part of changes in the educational system in 1924. The same reforms officially abolished religious schools (IU, 2006).

The problem of Kurdish language in the Turkish education system

Turkish is the language of instruction for most educational institutions in Turkey. However, some high-schools and universities use English, French or German as the language of instruction, and approximately 30% of the courses are taught in these languages. Alternatively, education in the Kurdish language was practiced unofficially throughout the years in madrasah schools operating near mosques (GÖÇ-DER 2008). Despite the ban on this practice, it is likely that this instruction in Kurdish maintained principles of Kurdish literary language among the Kurds living in Turkey (Leezenberg, 2014). Education featuring Kurdish as the language of instruction remains problematic in Turkey even though education in the mother tongue is a requirement for multicultural education aiming to remove inter-group tensions. This stance was among findings pointed out by Yeliz Kaya (2015) in his critical analysis of the state of multicultural education in Turkey.

Turkey did not sign European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages which indicates that ethnic minorities must have rights to learn in their first language. Although Turkey has signed the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, it had reservations to the articles 17, 29 and 30 that ensure that children from minority or indigenous families have rights to education

and preservation of their cultural identity (Koivunen, 2002:117). Pressure on using the Kurdish language and keeping Turkish as a unique language of education led to very high levels of illiteracy in Kurdish inhabited regions of Turkey. Children who do not know Turkish are not taught the dominating language but are expected to know it and use perfectly, even if both teachers and pupils are Kurdish (Koivunen 2002:18-20).

Despite banning Kurdish in formal education and public life, Kurmanci and Zazaki dialects survived in private relations connected with homes and villages and continued to be taught in the underground (Zeydanlıoğlu, 2012; Hassanpour, 2000; Koivunen, 2012:114-117). The situation has improved since the beginning of the 1990s when Article no. 2932 of 1983 preventing Kurdish cultural organizations and publishing in Kurdish was lifted. Use of Kurdish broadcast, education and politics remained forbidden. Until 2013, usage of letters present in Hawar Kurmanci alphabet, but absent in the Turkish language, "w", "q" and "x," was also banned (Geerdink, 2014). Writing these letters and using the Kurdish language publicly still sparks controversy. Many respondents described situations when they were treated negatively because of using Kurdish dialects or having a Kurdish name. Almost all respondents still feel the negative atmosphere when they speak Kurdish in public places with the Turkish majority.

The democratizing reforms introduced by the government of Turkey and led since 2002 by Justice and Development Party resulted in significant changes concerning Kurdish education and cultural expression in Turkey. In 2003 the law was passed on "Teaching in Different Languages and Dialects Traditionally Used by Turkish Citizens in their Daily Lives." This enabled private education of the Kurdish language, but only for adults in a limited amount of time per week and with the requirement of acquiring approval and a diploma from the state (Zeydanlıoğlu, 2012:115-116). Since 2004 certain media (including public TV channels – TRT) were allowed to broadcast programs in Kurdish and in 2009, TRT 6 – the first fully Kurdish channel – began broadcasting. In 2010 government approved the program for teaching instructors of the Kurdish language on public Artuklu University in Mardin. That task was delegated to newly established Institute of Living Languages which was organized to conduct research, education, and translation also in Arabic and Syriac languages. The title received achieved after graduation, however, was an Instructor of living languages rather than an Instructor of Kurdish but Instructor. In later years, other universities such as in Muş, Diyarbakır and Bingöl began conducting Kurdish language courses. Since 2012-2013 academic year, schools started to offer Kurdish as an elective class for students starting from the fourth grade

(11 years old). Democratization package passed by the government in March 2014 also included the law allowing private schools to teach in Kurdish.

At the beginning of the academic year in September the same year, three private primary schools in Diyarbakır, Cizre (Şırnak province) and Yüksekova (Hakkari province) planned to start teaching exclusively in Kurdish (though still including Turkish language classes). Kurdi Der and Eğitim Sen – institutions with experience in teaching the Kurdish language – took the schools under patronage and prepared schoolbooks for them. Being an independent organization which did not apply for acceptance as official non-public educational institution the schools were successively closed by Turkish authorities. Officials of the school in Diyarbakır claimed that applying for such permission would mean that as a private institution they would have to ask their students for fees while they believe that education in mother tongue is a basic right (Geerdink, 2014). It is also probable that these schools wanted to remain independent of the government influence, especially because the organization of classes and administration of the school were planned to emphasize egalitarianism in accordance with the leftist program of Democratic Confederalism proclaimed by Öcalan under the influence of Murray Bookchin. At the beginning of the academic year the police prevented access to the building and intervened using teargas and batons. Representatives of schools and the pro-Kurdish party (HDP) demanded explanation from the authorities as to why education in mother tongue was targeted as an terrorist activity (Fitzherbert, 2015; Geerdink, 2014). This event echoed among the Kurdish community in Turkey including Istanbul, and many of my respondents pointed how the state obstructed Kurdish education and violated rights to cultivate Kurdish identity.

Despite reforms symbolic in the history of Turkey, many Kurds and commentators have emphasized lack of fulfillment in practice of achieved provisions for the Kurdish language and continuation of legal persecution of its users (Zeydanlıoğlu, 2012:113-120). This tendency was exemplified in numerous judicial litigations conducted against people and organizations using Kurdish in public, including Kurdish politicians elected to local governments (such as Diyarbakır's mayor Osman Baydemir). Problems and orders for closure also were aimed at media such as the *Azadiya Welat* (in Kurdish "Free Country") led in Kurdish. State interventions against Kurdish cultural and educational organizations have drastically intensified since July 2015 when the war on terror was proclaimed. Between 2015-2016 academics who signed the petition against the use of excess force during Turkish military interventions in the country's southeast also have been targeted by trials and expulsion. These events only strengthen the arguments for a need

of multicultural education in Turkey. New attempts in preparing reformed curriculum with regards to Syrian refugees entering education in Turkey can prompt such a change which would include minority groups such as Syrian Arabs and Christians, Kurds, Armenians, Laz and Alevis⁴.

References:

Barwick, Ch. (2014). Upwards, outwards, backwards? Residential choice and neighborhood use of middle-class Turkish-Germans. *Cahiers de recherche du Programme Cities are Back in Town*, 1. Retrieved from <http://blogs.sciences-po.fr/recherche-villes>

Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and Symbolic Power*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, New York, NY: Routledge.

COHE The Council of Higher Education. (2014). *Higher Education System in Turkey*. Retrieved from: <https://www.yok.gov.tr/documents/10348274/10733291/TR'de+Y%C3%BCksek%C3%B6%C4%9Fretim+Sistemi2.pdf/9027552a-962f-4b03-8450-3d1ff8d56ccc>

Çayır K. and Gürkaynak I. (2007). The State of Citizenship Education in Turkey: Past and Present, *Journal of Social Science Education* 6, 2, 50-58.

Çayır, K. (2015) Citizenship, nationality and minorities in Turkey's textbooks: from politics of non-recognition to 'difference multiculturalism', *Comparative Education*, 51, 4, 519-536, doi: 10.1080/03050068.2015.1088210

Çayır, K. (2009). Preparing Turkey for the European Union: Nationalism, National Identity and 'Otherness' in Turkey's New Textbooks. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 30:1, 39-55, doi: 10.1080/07256860802579436

Domnwachukwu, Ch. S. (2010). *An Introduction to Multicultural Education. From Theory to Practice*. Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Fishman, J. A. (2010). Sociolinguistics: Language and Ethnic Identity in Context. In J. A. Fishman & O. Garcia (Eds.), *Language & Ethnic Identity, Volume I: Disciplinary & Regional Perspectives* (pp. xxiii-xxv), New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Fitzherbert, Y. (2015). 'If we lose our language, we lose everything': the politics of the Kurdish language in Turkey. Retrieved from <http://www.contributoria.com/issue/2015-01/545e315e38dcd6c951000014/>

Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977*, New York, NY: Pantheon.

Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

⁴ Need for such education programs, sensitive for other cultures and preparing teachers for people of different background have been stressed by various Turkish scholars in social and education studies taking part in Turkish Migration Conference organized in Vienna in July 2016.

Geerdink, F. (2014). *Kurds not giving up on education in mother tongue*. Al- Monitor. Retrieved from <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/09/turkey-kurds-education-in-mother-tongue-schools.html#ixzz477mXSx4D>

Gorski P. and Covert B. (2000, [1996]). *Defining Multicultural Education*, EdChange Multicultural Pavilion. Retrieved from http://www.edchange.org/multicultural/define_old.html

GÖÇ-DER Migrants' Organization for Solidarity and Culture. (2008). *Stories of Migration. One Who's Seen Pain Doesn't Inflict Pain Upon Others*, Istanbul: GÖÇ-DER.

Gur, B.S. (2016). What Erdogan really wants for education in Turkey: Islamization or Pluralisation?, AlJazeera Center for Studies. Retrieved from <http://studies.aljazeera.net/en/reports/2016/03/160317094912447.html>

Hassanpour, A. (2000). The politics of a-political linguistics: linguists and linguisticide. In R. Phillipson (Ed.), *Rights to language: equity, power, and education* (pp. 33–39). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Içduygu, A., Y. Çolak, & N. Soyarik. 1999. What is the matter with citizenship? A Turkish debate. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 35 (4), 187–208.

IU Istanbul University. 2006. *History* Retrieved from: <http://www.istanbul.edu.tr/english/history.php>

Kaya, Y. (2015). The Opinions of Primary School, Turkish Language and Social Science Teachers regarding Education in the Mother Tongue (Kurdish). *Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Studies*, 2, 33-46.

Koivunen, K. (2002). The Invisible War in North Kurdistan. Retrieved from <http://ethesis.helsinki.fi/julkaisut/val/sospo/vk/koivunen/>

Leezenberg, M. (2014). Elî Teremaxî and the Vernacularization of Medrese Learning in Kurdistan, *Iranian Studies*, 47 (5), 713-733, doi: 10.1080/00210862.2014.934150

MEB Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı – Ministry of National Education. (2015). *National Education Statistics Formal Education 2014/'15*. Retrieved from http://sgb.meb.gov.tr/istatistik/meb_istatistikleri_orgun_egitim_2014_2015.pdf

Phinney, J., Horenczyk, G., Liebkind, K. and Vedder P. (2001). Ethnic Identity, Immigration, and Well-Being: An Interactional Perspective, *Journal of Social Issues*, 57, 3, 493-510.

Portes, A. and Rumbaut, R.G. (1990). *Immigrant America. A Portrait*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Todaro, M. (1969). A Model of Labor Migration and Urban Unemployment in Less Developed Countries. *American Economic Review*, 59, 138-148.

Yildirim, A. (2006). High School Textbooks in Turkey from Teachers' and Students' Perspectives: The Case of History Textbooks. *Asia Pacific Education Review*, 7, 2, 218-228.

Zeydanlioğlu, W. (2012). Turkey's Kurdish language policy, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 217, 99-125, doi: 10.1515/ijsl-2012-0051

Kurdish language and the transmission of values through literature, film and the works of art - Joanna Bocheńska

Jagiellonian University in Krakow (Poland)

Kurdish identity and transmission of values

While discussing the role of a language in any society, we should pay attention to the reality that had been shaped by this language. As Ludwig Wittgenstein stressed (1958), a language is not a simple instrument of communication applicable within a certain reality but, it always creates the reality by producing meanings that have sense in a particular context of individual and social experiences. If we deprive a language of a certain cultural and social context in which it functions we will never be able to understand its meanings properly. On the other hand, by depriving a reality of a language, we may lose a great part of knowledge describing and denoting the reality. The role of the Kurdish language in producing meanings that are constitutive for a special worldview has been recently undertaken by the Kurdish philosopher Ibrahim Bor from the Mardin Artuklu University. He (2015) studied the affirmative worldview engendered by Kurdish negations which in his opinion have a different meaning than the separate words denoting bad or evil things that were borrowed into Kurdish from other languages. However, the role of the language is not exhausted by its grammar and lexicon. We should realize that the Kurdish language constitutes and shapes messages that are important for the current and future wellbeing of Kurdish people.

In Turkey the Kurdish language is in danger of extinction in coming decades. As far as the Turkish language enters the Kurdish world through the means of education offering access to the modern world which so many people desire to have; it has substituted the Kurdish language which is associated with traditional reality rather than with the modern world. Belonging to an absolutely different family of languages and formed within a bit different cultural contexts the Turkish language brings its own logic and meanings that with time substitute the Kurdish ones. This process usually goes unspotted because both Kurds and Turks used to live together for many centuries so they have quite many things in common. Nevertheless, as stressed by the Kurdish writer, Mehmed Uzun (1952-2007) in many of his

essays and novels, along with the language the Kurds may lose the links with their past which contains meanings and values that for centuries had constituted their culture, and they are crucial for its successful future. By the successful future one should not understand solely the economic prosperity, but first of all a psychological capability to deal with many, sometimes serious, social and psychological problems. If a community does not possess this capability its economic prosperity is also hazy because in the modern world any entrepreneurship is based on dealing with human resources and creativity.

The first very important aspect connected with the ability to solve problems is the self-confidence of a group which should not be mixed with overconfidence and overestimation of a group that leads to misbehaviour towards members of other groups. The self-confidence is also often referred to as self-esteem or self-image (Benabou, Tirole, 2005). Due to the long lasting ban on the Kurdish language and culture and decades of discrimination of Kurds in Turkey, the self-confidence of Kurdish people was considerably undermined. Thus, the Kurdish cultural heritage was many times perceived as *backward* and *dangerous* not only by Turks, but even by Kurdish leaders, fighters and activists. The best example of it is the fate of Kurdish traditional *dengbêjs* – singers and story tellers whose art and activity for years had not been accepted by the Kurdish leftist movement claiming that what *dengbêj* offer is backward, needless and pernicious. They were most suspicious about Kurdish stories and songs referring to tribal conflicts and leaders which in their opinion endangered the unity of the Kurds (Hamelink, Bariş, 2015:40). Moreover, *dengbêjs* were associated with poverty and dependency from *bey* and *agas* whom they praised in exchange for food and shelter (Scalbert-Yücel, 2009:5). Therefore, initially their position in the Kurdish society ranked low. Hamelink and Bariş (2015:39) called this process the self-Orientalism, but it can be also described within psychological terms as the lack of self-confidence regarding Kurdish culture that occurred when the Kurds were confronted with more developed parts of Turkey and many modern ideologies.

On the contrary, some other representatives of Kurdish intelligentsia pointed out that the art of *dengbêjs* is very important for understanding the world of traditional Kurdish values and for updating them according to modern needs. Celadet Bedir Khan (1893-1951), the inventor of the new Latin version of the Kurdish alphabet (1932) was among the enthusiast and collectors of Kurdish folklore the examples of which he published in self edited Kurdish language magazines entitled *Ronahî* and *Hawar*. It is important to highlight the direct links between the language, traditional narratives and the social needs of knowing them that was

emphasized by Celadet Bedir Khan's publishing policy. This was undoubtedly fueled by the national idea which in many cases exposed the role of everyday language. Nevertheless, these stories provided some psychological and ethical knowledge as well. As stressed by Mehmed Uzun (2003), updating stories according to the current needs of people lied in the heart of an oral performance and the art of the *dengbêjs*. The fact that the stories and songs were not recorded in a fixed version, but memorized and reproduced by people opened the way for possible adjustments and changes that allowed listeners to understand the changing world around them. Mehmed Uzun considered himself as the inheritor of *dengbêjs*' tradition transferring the traditional world of values into a modern one by the means of the contemporary novel and language. This way he wished to establish continuity linking the language associated with the traditional world with the modern reality. Without continuity the self-confidence needed in solving current problems is impossible. It is because of the lack of links between the past and the present violates the sense of identity which is rooted in our ability to narrate ourselves to ourselves and connecting together the past, the present and the future of our conscious (Ricoeur, 1991). If there is no image of the past we cannot successfully deal with the current challenges and project our future tasks. As stressed by Kwam Anthony Appiah (2005:24) identity can be the source of many important ethical values because recognising something as important is often related to our identity. Identity helps us to make choices and find our way through life, evokes solidarity with people of the shared identity and involves collective intentions in our projects and commitments. Therefore, literary narratives expressed in a language can provide us with important ethical and social knowledge and any language, story and author individualizes and contextualizes this knowledge to make it comprehend and interesting for the readers. If a language becomes extinct, what follows is increasingly difficult access to stories created within this language which always provided people with necessary ethics that used to help them to understand the surrounding world and to act in it. Of course we can borrow and apply other stories. It often happens in our modern world when translations circulate from a language to a language enriching our knowledge about different cultures and social realities. However, having no access to own stories we have no opportunity to compare and to confront the reality with what we know as "our own". Therefore, the poignant feeling of lack and incompleteness takes place which can effect on the self- confidence of an individual and community.

The contemporary reality of the Kurds in Turkey is not devoid of both traditional forms of expressions and their contemporary updates as well as their fully modern counterparts. However, what constitutes the problem is the small accessibility of these works and, what follows, the lack of awareness among Kurdish people that they are accessible and may be interesting, delightful and useful. Moreover, although still many people can speak the Kurdish language, the considerable part of the Kurdish population in Turkey is not able to read because they were not allowed to learn it at school. The Kurdish language was allowed to be taught on private courses from 2004 onward and was for the first time introduced to the public primary schools in 2012 as an optional topic. However, still not so many schools can offer it. Furthermore, political discourse is still prevailing among the Kurds and few of them are aware of the role of culture and a language. Even if they highlight the role of the Kurdish language and the necessity to save it, they very rarely connect it with promoting Kurdish culture as well as political and economic reality that would be expressed in Kurdish language. Therefore, the necessity to save the language remain an abstract slogan for many people. Until recently it was mostly Turkish but not Kurdish that was used among Kurdish politicians and activists and although this reality is changing gradually, still a lot remain to be done to improve the situation of the Kurdish language in the public sphere. Finally, though the situation is changing, there are still only a few projects and initiatives that would be able to promote Kurdish culture in a professional way. That is why, unfortunately, the cultural activity inhabits the margins of Kurdish political and social movement. In the following part of this chapter I will enumerate and briefly present selected cultural initiatives that had been launched in recent years in Kurdistan and in Istanbul. Then I will discuss a few examples taken from Kurdish literary and film narratives showing the way they transfer and reinterpret traditional values and symbols.

Kurdish cultural institutions and cultural initiatives

The **Kurdish Institute in Istanbul** (Enstituya Kurdî ya Stenbolê) is a non-governmental organisation established by Kurdish intellectuals in 1992. It offers Kurdish language courses as well as textbooks and materials for learning Kurdish (its different dialects: Kurmanji, Zaza, Sorani). There is also a library where many textbooks, dictionaries and magazines are offered to the Kurdish public living in Istanbul.

The Mezopotamya Cultural Centre (Navenda Çanda Mezopotamya) is focused on supporting Kurdish artistic activity with an attention paid to the Kurdish language. The Mezopotamya Cultural Centre gives priority to film, theatre and music. It was established in Istanbul in 1989 and gradually developed opening new branches which are located in Istanbul and other cities with a considerable amount of Kurds. The Mezopotamya Cultural Centre organises workshops for Kurdish youth interested in developing their artistic skills, produces CDs with Kurdish music and supports Kurdish film industry. It also arranges Kurdish Cultural Festivals in Istanbul. It is focused on updating the traditional Kurdish culture according to modern needs.

The House of Dengbêjs (*Mala Dengbêjan*) was established in 2007 in Diyarbakir. It is a centre for traditional singers who gather there to perform traditional songs and stories six days a week. The *dengbêjs'* heritage expressed in a traditional form in the The House of Dengbej is being updated in the scope of different music and theatrical workshops launched by The **Cigerxwin Cultural & Youth Centre** where Kurdish teachers and musicians work with Kurdish youth to offer them both traditional and modern skills to interpret and perform the traditional folkloric pieces. The House of Dengbêj and The Cigerxwin Cultural&Youth Centre as well as many new provincial cultural centres that have emerged in recent years launch their activity under the auspice of Diyarbakir Municipality. The policy of the Diyarbakir Municipality is shaped by leftist views which nowadays Turkey and Kurdistan are often linked to anti-globalism and environmental movements. Therefore, minority rights, multiculturalism and environmental care occupy a central place in the policy of the Municipality and connect it with other global activities of this kind. This is of crucial importance because it aids the Kurds to see and interpret their situation and problems in a wider context of the globalized world and to reinforce many of their claims such as suspending the construction of the Ilisu Dam on the Tigris river⁵.

Apart from the policy of Diyarbakir Municipality, there are also many other initiatives of independent groups and institutions such as The *Nûbihar* Association which publishes the quarterly magazine *Nûbihar*, organizes Kurdish lessons, seminars on Kurdish culture and publishes books in the scope of the *Nûbihar* Publishing House. The *Nûbihar* association established in 2001 as a result of decades long activities launched by a group of Kurdish Muslims

⁵ The Ilisu Dam has been planned within so called Southeastern Anatolian Project (GAP) to provide water and electricity to many Turkish citizens. However, if succeeded, the water plant will damage both the environment and the cultural heritage of the Kurds cutting them off from the past.

and named after the first Arabic-Kurdish Dictionary written by the Kurdish classical poet Ehmede Khani in 1683, is focused on preserving and redefining the religious aspect of Kurdish social life, and thus it plays a very important role connecting the religious elite with the modern world and forms of expression. This helps integrate people who are often distanced to many modern changes. On the one hand, their voice can be heard and not rejected under the label of backwardness. On the other hand, some narratives belonging to the Islamic tradition gain a new more modern meaning, so that they can be interpreted far from fundamentalist context. Therefore, they are not perceived as dangerous by the more emancipated left wing elite, and thus the *Nûbihar* association fosters consent and cooperation between different groups of Kurdish activists. Moreover, the Kurds linked to *Nûbihar* put great stress on saving the mother tongue and on its application in the everyday life.

The contemporary Kurdish literature is published by many Kurdish publishers such as: Avesta, Lîs, Ava, Perî, Hîva, Ar, Belkî, Peywend, Vate. Still, however, they are not easily accessible. There are relatively few bookstores which sell Kurdish books in Kurdistan and in Istanbul. However, their number is gradually raising.

In Istanbul the best known Kurdish bookstore is **Medya Kitabevi** owned by the Kurdish writer and dissident Selehaddin Bulut. It is located on one of the main Istanbul streets – *İstiklal Caddesi* in Elhamra Pasaji opposite to St. Anthony of Padua Church. Being a very tiny place Medya Kitabevi offers a wide range of literature devoted to Kurdish issue in both Kurdish and Turkish languages. The bookstore is recognisable for Kurdish intelligentsia, but certainly it is not a well exposed place that could draw attention of Turks or foreign tourists.

The other Istanbul Kurdish bookstores are the following:

1. Avesta which is linked to Avesta Publishing House and located in Beyoğlu.
2. Nûbihar which is affiliated to the Nûbihar Publishing House and located in Beyazid district.
3. Şahraman Kitap Café on the İstiklal Caddesi
4. Perî Yayınları in Kadıköy on the Asiatic shore of Istanbul

The best known bookstore in Diyarbakir is Avesta located in Ofis and also Nûbihar bookstore in the Nûbihar association's headquarters. The Kurdish books are sold on many street stalls as well.

The books are also available through the internet sale: aramyayinevi.net, pirtukakurdi.com, avestakitap.com and in institutes such as The Kurdish Institute in Istanbul, **The Foundation of İsmail Beşikçi** in Istanbul and Diyarbakir, **Kurdi-Der** (Diyarbakir), **The Library of Mehmed Uzun** in the Sumer Park complex in Diyarbakir. There are also places where Kurdish modern literature is being discussed such as the İsmail Beşikçi Foundation, **Ferike Ūsiv Batman Association of Readers** in Batman, or cultural cafes such as **İkinci Yeni** in Diyarbakir. The Ferike Ūsiv Batman Association of Readers is organised by the youngest generation of talented Kurdish writers who publish the *Jehr* literary magazine. Another Readers Club functions in Antalya as the branch of Kurdî Der. Also two theoretical journals *Wêje û Rexne* (Literature and Criticism) and *Zarema* offer the multilevel discussion on Kurdish modern literature, film and art.

It is important to mention also the **Sumer Park Gallery** in Diyarbakir which was established in 2010-2011 in the old carpet factory of the Sumer Holding. The Sumer Park complex consists of many cultural and sport centres which are subject to the Diyarbakir Municipality. According to Barış Seyitvan (2015), the artist and director of the Sumer Park Gallery, the Kurdish language is considered vital for Gallery's activities. All captions are usually prepared in both Kurdish and Turkish languages so that the Kurdish language can be associated with modern art, especially that created by the Kurds. The Sumer Park Gallery exhibits artist from Turkey, other parts of Kurdistan, the Middle East and the rest of the world. Its main aim is to make the modern art available for Kurdish people especially the young generation. Thus, the Sumer Park Gallery along with Diyarbakir Municipality offer a program for school visitors providing transport and guides for the exhibitions.

All these new important initiatives do not exhaust the needs for the Kurdish language and culture to be more widely promoted and better accessible. The fact that Turkish media, institutes and bookstores are not partaking in this process is deeply aggrieving and disturbing. While many Turks desire the military action of Kurdistan Workers Party to be ceased, they rarely realize that this could become true if they become more interested and engaged in Kurdish cultural life. The wide support for Kurdish culture is crucial for any reconciliation process to be successful and satisfying for both sides.

Kurdish literature and films as a necessary bridge between the traditional and modern worlds

A great majority of Kurdish contemporary writers were interested in Kurdish folklore looking for an inspiration for their work. For some of them the traditional style of living is still an interesting topic to be portrayed and talked about. Ronî War (2015), the writer and publisher from Mardin, claims that fairy tales, legends and songs that for centuries have been told and sung by story tellers and singers have to be saved from oblivion. That is why he retells and publishes them in a prosaic form as nice looking books stressing that this activity plays an important didactic role for the young generation of people. As far as the youth have rather a rare opportunity to listen to stories in a traditional form, a book is a new medium transferring centuries old stories into the modern reality. The writer (2015) highlights that the reality Kurdish pupils and students live in is much different than that described in traditional stories. There are many values such as faithfulness and courage that had been ruled out from modern life. Therefore recalling them by the means of traditional stories, images and narratives may serve as an inspiration for the young generation. However, Ronî War (2015) suggests that also the tradition should be adjusted to modern times. Thus, he always selects motifs and images that should be saved from oblivion and omits the part of tradition which to him is not worth remembering.

Mehmed Uzun (2002, 2003), one of the most prominent Kurdish writers, many times highlighted the role of proverbs and traditional stories told and sang by *dengbêjs*. For him (2002) the proverbs played the role of a Kurdish dictionary for they always offered both the explanation and the sophisticated example of how to use a certain word (2003:49-55). The stories told by *dengbêjs* offered the Kurds the historical knowledge. Moreover, what is very important they consisted not of dry facts, but rather vivid portraits of people who were the part of historical events. Each *dengbêj*'s performance was suffused with emotions evoking a certain interpretation of events. Therefore, even sad stories, such as *Dimdim*, describing failure of the Kurds, might have glorified courage and determination instead of mourning the defeat (Bocheńska, 2011:103). This taught people how to be strong and hopeful in spite of all difficulties in life.

In his novels Uzun wished to raise from death the Kurdish historical memory and this way to challenge the official history invented by the Turkish Republic. He wanted to convince his readers that as long as there are stories to be told; history cannot belong only to winners. Along with history he raised from death the Kurdish language he had abandoned himself during the military service in Turkey. After finding refuge in Sweden in the 80's he embarked on creating literature in his mother tongue. In his novels he portrayed historical and legendary figures of the Kurdish past such as Memduh Selim (from the book *Siya Evînê*/Shadow of Love) or the *dengbêj* Evdale Zeynike (*Rojêk ji Rojên Evdalê Zeynikê*/One day of Evdale Zeynike). He wanted to transfer traditional story telling into a modern novel. However, his idea was not simply to write the stories he used to listen to in an oral form. Unsuspectedly the *dengbêj*'s heritage offered him an inspiration of how to link the concept of the modern historical novel developed in Europe with Kurdish tradition. As a result emerged an interesting form of contemporary modern Kurdish novel – *Hawara Dicleyê*/Calling of the Tigris River. Its chapters were designed according to *şevbuhêrks* – the evenings during which traditional stories have been told. The protagonist and main narrator of the novel was a *dengbêj* called Biro, and the prosaic narration included poetical pieces too. While prosaic linear narration described the history of the Kurdish duchy Jazira in the 19th century, in time of prince Bedirkhan uprising against the Ottomans, the poetry added another dimension to the novel. Lyrical pieces offered an eternal perspective from which all human actions were perceived. This compilation of narrative forms has a lot in common with Yezidi⁶ religious texts, and can be perceived as both modern experiment with a very classical linear narration popular in historical novels; and as fruitful inspiration taken from Yezidi Kurds cultural heritage (Bocheńska, 2014). The *Hawara Dicleyê* proved that traditional Kurdish culture is not dead, but it still inspiring and lively part of Kurdish reality. Mehmed Uzun offered us the Kurdish vision of historical events along with updated form of traditional oral narration. Moreover, he constructed an interesting new version of historical novel which dealt not only with real and linear, but also circular and mystical time and perspective. Uzun's output can be treated not only as a literary achievement but as a proposal of how to work out self-confidence needed in everyday life. He showed that

⁶ Yezidis are the religious minority group that for centuries has been persecuted by Muslims who called them "devil worshipers". Yezidism emerged in the 12th century as a compilation of the Kurdish pre-islamic beliefs and sufism. Its centre of pilgrimage is Lalish in Iraqi Kurdistan. In 2014 Yezidis living in Iraq again became the victims of Islamic radicalism and large amount of their population was subjected to genocide planned by the Islamic State.

neither the Kurdish language nor the Kurdish cultural heritage should be rejected and treated as backward, but rather accepted and approached with due respect and attention.

Another interesting approach to Kurdish cultural background can be found in Jan Dost's novels such as *Mijabad* (2011a) or *Mîrname* (2011a). *Mijabad* refers to historical events related to the raise of Mahabad Republic 1945-1946 in Iran, the first modern Kurdish state that collapsed after a few months under the pressure of Iranian army. Jan Dost, the Kurdish writer from Syria presented his own critical commentary to Mahabad's history pointing out different weaknesses of the Kurdish movement. He did it, however, by the means of vivid images of a foggy city (*mij* means fog in Kurdish), gallows and wires waiting for rebels or the repeating statements of a mad man claiming that "there will never be the Kurdish state without and access to the sea and navy". From the stylistic point of view the unreal images entering the linear narration resemble the magic realism. However, the pedigree of these images is not only the writer's imagination or foreign inspiration, but also the Kurdish oral tradition. In this case the Kurdish cultural background was also updated according to modern needs of the contemporary novel. Similar phenomena, labelled as the Kurdish magic realism can be observed in the works by Kurdish Sorani writer Bekhtiar Eli (Ahmedzadeh, 2011).

In *Mîrname* Jan Dost came back to more remoted history devoting his novel to the Kurdish classical poet Ehmede Khani (1650-1707). However, in his novel, we learn about the poet's life indirectly from the stories told after his death by many different characters. Although the reality exposed in the novel is of a historical kind, Dost managed to portrayed quite acute temporary problem of lack of knowledge and reliable sources about Ehmede Khani's life. Therefore, each attempt to share light on the poet's life ends up in creating different stories that resemble legends rather than reliable data. This way Dost applied historical context to refer to modern reality in fact. Furthermore, his novel aimed to reveal the mystery of Khani's death therefore it raised attention to Khani and his epoch and showed that these topics can be very intriguing. These kinds of literary texts, even if they are far from any historical truth, are designed to present the Kurdish past as a vivid, lively and compelling source of inspiration and creativity. Therefore, they establish important links between the past, present and future and shape the reliable model of Kurdish self-confidence. Moreover, they promote knowledge of a language because all the compelling imaginary things are available only for those who know the Kurdish language.

Another idea on how to support the Kurdish language and make the old Kurdish geographical names present in people's memory was exposed in Selehaddin Bulut's short story cycle entitled *Bihuştalal/ The Mute Paradise*. In his short story entitled *Rê/Road* he depicted in details the many places in Mardin and Derik region and recalled the names that were used by locals but changed afterwards in the scope of Turkish assimilationist policy. Bulut's short stories do not only offer a precise documentation of interesting names and places, but they present them as a kind of interactive backdrop for human stories, thoughts and emotions. Therefore, we can realize in what way the assimilationist policy impacted the intimate reality of people. It meant imposing completely foreign names on to the domestic, familiar context of their everyday life.

Bahman Ghobadi's film *Marooned in Iraq* (2002) exposes another idea of how to deal with traditional culture and its values. Mirza, the protagonist of the film, the famous Kurdish singer from Iran learns about his previous wife's serious predicament in one of the refugee camps in Iran created for Kurds escaping from chemical bombardments ordered by Saddam Hussein in Iraq. Henareh, Mirza's ex-wife is an example of unfaithful spouse, who escaped with Mirza's friend. According to traditional Kurdish customs, she should have been killed along with her lover. However, Mirza challenges his own tradition and set out on a journey to find her. He takes his both sons who are very much against Mirza's ideas. Nevertheless, Mirza insists that they have to find Henareh and help her. Mirza is a respected figure in the Kurdish society. Therefore, his new undertaking is closely followed by people. Some of them ridicule him, others respect. Mirza's attempt to find Henareh comes out of love and is very much rooted in the Kurdish culture too. Therefore, Mirza's undertaking is able to challenge the centuries old customs and offer a new approach to them. Bahman Ghobadi's film is a great ally for all social projects designed to eradicate so called honour killings (killing a wife, sister or daughters in the name of family honour) in the Kurdish society. It shows a new approach to the problem which is suggested not by modern looking activists from abroad but by an old respected man from a Kurdish village. Therefore, it might be treated as more trustworthy. Moreover, Mirza reinterprets his own culture in the name of love, showing that there cannot be any honourable life without love and respect toward other people.

These are only a few examples of how the Kurdish contemporary culture deals with the past applying the Kurdish language as fully modern medium of communicating significant values. The language is the main link connecting the past and present, and it is the worldview

created within the Kurdish language that can offer the new reliable and trustworthy approaches to Kurdish contemporary problems.

References:

Ahmedzadeh, H. (2011). Magic Realism in the Novels of a Kurdish Writer, Bakhtiyar Ali. *Middle Eastern Literatures*, 14(3), pp. 287-299.

Appiah, K.A. (2005). *The Ethics of Identity*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Benabou, R., Tirole, J. (2005). *Self-confidence and personal motivation*. London, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bor, I. (2016). Di zimanekê de pirsgirêka avakirina têgehên felsefeyê: Minaka Kurdî (Kurmançî), lecture at the Jagiellonian University, 18.05.2016

Bocheńska, J. (2011). *Między ciemnością i światłem. O kurdyjskiej tożsamości i literaturze*. Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka.

Bocheńska, J. (2014). Following The Snake. Yezidi Inspirations in Contemporary Kurdish Literature. [Electronic Version] *Fritillaria Kurdica. Bulletin of Kurdish Studies*, 3-4, 122-152.

Bulut, S. (2005). *Bihuşta Lal*, Istanbul: Avesta.

Dost, J. (2011a). *Mijabad*, Istanbul: Avesta.

Dost, J. (2011b). *Mîrname*, Istanbul: Avesta.

Ghobadi, B. (2002). *Marooned in Iraq*, Iran.

Hamelink, W., Barış, H. (2014). Dengbêjs on borderlands: Borders and the state as seen through the eyes of Kurdish singer-poets, *Kurdish Studies Journal* 2(1), pp. 34-60.

Ricoeur, P. (1991). Narrative identity. *Philosophy Today* 35(1), pp. 73-80.

Scalbert-Yücel, C. (2009). The Invention of a Tradition: Diyarbakir's Dengbêj's Project. [Electronic Version] *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, 10, pp.1-21

Uzun, M. (2001, 2003). *Hawara Dicleyê I, II*, Stenbol: Avesta

Uzun, M. (2002). *Zincirlenmiş zamanlar, zincirlenmiş sözcükler*, Istanbul: Gendaş Kültür.

Uzun, M. (2003). *Dengbêjlerim*. Istanbul: Gendaş Kültür.

Wittgenstein, L. (1958). *Philosophical Investigations*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell

Interviews taken by Joanna Bocheńska:

with Roni War (in July 2015) Mardin

with Barış Seyitvan (in July 2015) Diyarbakir

The Kurdish Language in the Official Discourse in Turkey (İbrahim Seydo Aydoğan)

"Is Kurdish really a civilized language to become a language of instruction? "

Bulent Arinç

The Deputy Prime Minister and spokesman of the Turkish government in 2012

"Those who do not speak Turkish have no interest to the Turkish state!"

Ismet Inonu

Turkish Prime Minister, 1925⁷

Superiority complex

The comparison between particularities of peoples and nations is a natural fact during their formation. These Groups, tribes, people or nations appear to be mostly in reaction against other groups or peoples. Because the main question during the rise of a nation or a people is the existence, the membership to an entity that identifies itself, the goal is to always be or exist among other identities.

When the roads of two peoples or nations cross this comparison imposes itself always in the domain of military force, wealth, history, technology, but also in the field of culture and mainly, as far as we are concerned, of language. The question of power is there for necessarily between two camps: the one that is the most powerful, the biggest, the richest etc.

This relation with the other enters even in the language since we must name one another. The ancient Greeks classified everyone that was not Greek as "barbarous". The word "barbarous" does not necessarily mean "fierce" or "cruel". This meaning comes mainly from their language, since the Greeks didn't understand and only heard "bar-bar-bar-bar". Only after the division (sharing?) of land the Greeks went to create colonies at the Barbarians. Initially with the aim to find land , mais il fallait y vivre et, naturally, to live with the locals. The Greeks never wanted to learn the local languages because their language, Greek, was considered to be the language of civilisation.

After the Greeks it were the Romans that went on the land of others, to the unknown world. This time they came with their armies to install their colonies for good. In the middle ages the exploitation of unknown land was often with another humanitarian goal namely to civilise the

⁷ Çavkanî: İsmail Beşikçi, *Roboski-Goyiler*, <http://www.kurdistan-post.eu/tr/siyaset/roboski-goyiler-ismail-besikci>

barbarian world. Like the famous novel of Coetzee describes: during the encounter between the “civilised world” and the “ savage world” we don’t know who is the most barbarian. The one will try to impose itself on the other, the other will try to safeguard his land, subsequently his culture, history, language and existence; he will even use violence since, like Aimée Césaire⁸ said, colonisation is only violence, and it is so that the demands of the two camps will be expressed to determine the nature of the power that will be installed between them.

This power relation will permit us to understand and, thereby, interpret the discourse of the opposing camps in their goal to inscribe their intentions, but also their perception of the other. The history of colonialization, notably in Africa, has shown us that the question of power was predetermined in the behaviour of the rulers and the ruled. The coloniser has always had interest to impose his culture and his language that he considered as superior. The membership of the colonies to this design of superiority of a dominant language was crucial for the survival of the colonies. That said, like the colonizers, the colonised searched, to also continue to exist, with either the dominant language or culture or by preserving the local language and culture. Ngugi wa Tuiong'o, an English author from Kenyan origin decided not to write his novels and theatre pieces in English anymore constitutes a radical example. He criticised in his work entitled *Decolonise the Spirits* the indifference among African writers towards their maternal language, and accused them of abandoning their own identity and adopting the one of the coloniser through choosing a language that is heavily favoured by the colonizing system. The existence that Tuiong'o described could not pass by the language even if certain African writers that he criticizes were rather in favour of a form of synthesis between the very developed language of the colonizer and the language based on oral culture of the colonized. In fact, this division observed among African intellectuals, was fuelled by the presence of a system of assimilation that favoured the choice of the dominant language to succeed in studies and above all to have a good job. Because only the language of the colonizer could offer access to the working world.

Problem

If time, the continent and the players change, the behaviour and disdain of the colonisers towards the languages of the colonised appears to be a general feature in the established relationships between the dominant and dominated nations. The world has changed, the form of colonisation has changed. Today we don’t talk anymore about dependence or independence since it is no longer the land that attracts foreign force but the market. The mechanisms of old colonialization can no longer be applied to our contemporary world. Nevertheless colonisation of former times has left its traces in parts of the world where the difficulties of the existence of colonies were not resolved.

Concerning the Kurds in Turkey, the official Turkish discourse reflects a very interesting phenomenon. The Turkish nation, that lives since a century according to the rhythm of the national anthem and to the praises of the creator of Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, interprets the national unity as the source of its existence, which leads us to be very cautious with regard

⁸ Aimée Césaire (1955), *Discours sur le colonialisme*, édition de 2004, Paris: Présence Africaine, 92 p.

to cultural and linguistic rights of other ethnic groups present today on Turkish soil. In this context, the official Turkish discourse evolved very carefully. The distrust towards linguistic differences gave rise to very contradictory statements. In 2013 we saw Recep Tayyip Erdogan, then prime minister, saluting “the brothers of Kurdistan” during a reception of the president of the autonomous Kurdish region in Iraq. This was after a long period of negotiations with the PKK. Political tension was easing in which it was possible to openly discuss the Kurdish issue in the Turkish Medias. Knowing that “Kurdistan” was a taboo word and hitherto unheard of in the official Turkish discourse, this changeover deserves, in our view, special attention.

In light of the recent events that marked the end of the negotiation process between the PKK and the Turkish government that initially validated a joint roadmap, that Erdogan refused himself the next day. If today Erdogan does not speak at all of “Kurdistan” nor “his Kurdish brothers” and if the Turkish medias dare not to pronounce it openly, then how to interpret the Kurdish case in Turkey today? What status or legal protection does it have? Is the government, formed by the AKP led by Erdogan, capable to find a definitive solution to the Kurdish-Turkish conflict that caused death to almost 50.000 people and displaced more than 7 million Kurds to the west of Turkey, but also to Europe and America? How did we arrive to the term “Kurdistan” in the discourse of the Turkish leaders, how has it been able to talk today about “our Kurdish brothers” those they once called “our brothers of Kurdish origin”, and how can a forbidden language by law become “a language that the Turkish citizens apply traditionally in their daily lives”?

Two attempts at reconciliation in the 20th century

It seems essential to us to briefly recall the history of the reports of the Turco-Ottoman leaders regarding the Kurdish issue, in order to better understand the situation of the current reports. Every time that the Turkish leaders found themselves at a dead end they had the ingenuity to find very reasonable solutions in which they promised to the Kurds to get by together, but they were quickly forgotten once they had secured their power. The end of the Ottoman Empire and the beginning of the Turkish republic should serve as an example to understand that the Kemalist power could no longer run the country that its philosophy had failed, that it had to find another formula to get by. What was the CUP at the end of the empire easily evokes what is today the power of the AKP because both movements have the same behavior towards the Kurds: the creation of a common movement facing a fierce power that accepts no difference, the promises of liberty and equality that were quickly forgotten.

In the XIXe century the Ottoman power was weakened politically, military and economically as a consequence of the military defeats and the pressure of Western countries. The sultan was forced to accept certain radical changes by publishing two important statements *Tanzimat Fermani (1839) (reorganisation in Ottoman)* and *Islahat Fermani (1856) (Declaration of Reforms in Ottoman)*. The outcome of these reforms was the establishment in 1876 of a constitution and an assembly which led the Empire into a constitutional monarchy. This was what we might call the “Ottoman Spring” because now non-Muslims and the minorities had officially citizenship rights. In addition, the establishment of an assembly would restrict the power of the Sultan towards the people's representatives.

However, this constitution, that limited and controlled the power of the sultan, would be suspended by two years later under the pretext of the Russo-Turkish war.

Being again the only leader of the country, Sultan Abdulhamit II conducted a politic of repression against all opposition to reintroduce the order in the country and to reinstate his power. This repression led to unify all opposition around the *Ittihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti* (*commite for union and progress CUP*) including two Kurds, Abdullah Cewdet et Ishak Sukuti, who are among the four founders.

As explained by Bozarslan⁹ the CUP, inspired by the French revolution, influenced the young especially with the “magic words” “liberty, equality, brotherhood”. The seizure of power by the CUP in 1908 marked the end of absolute monarchy. However, it posted ideas that federated all branches of the opposition. The CUP that promised plurality, abandoned its principles when it was in power. It changed policy soon after the revolution, especially against non-Turks in order to promote a homogeneous Turkish state ethnically and religiously. That is why Bozarslan gives reason for certain researchers to think that: *the main objective of the Young Turks was not freedom but to save the state and turcicité* ”¹⁰.

The birth of Kurdish nationalism

The Kurds considered the liberty promised by the CUP like a magic remedy against all the problems of the Empire. Enjoying the era of Hürriyet (liberty in Ottoman) the Kurds of Istanbul regrouped themselves first in the *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Cemiyeti* (*Kurdish association for solidarity and progress henceforth KTTTC*) that opened several offices in Kurdish cities and was the first big Kurdish non-tribal organisation. This association called Kurds by published statements especially in their journal *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi* (*now KTTG*) to support the political changes, that is to say the parliamentary monarchy.

In the regulations and in the journal of the association KTTTC the importance of the language in politics was repeatedly stressed. Babanzade Ismail Hakki recalls in the first issue of the journal that << the old regime who beheaded other etnies, also beheaded the language when it comes to the Kurds>>¹¹ also indicated the place that former Ottoman leaders once granted to the Kurdish language, an affirmation that reflects the evolution of the situation.

This is certainly a reaction to the repression suffered. Stated in the statutes of KTTTC that the control of Kurdish is one of the requirements to become a member of the committee¹². As Scalbert stated it was only after the hardening of the nationalist discourse of the CUP that the Kurdish elite from Istanbul highlights the Kurdish identity. Scalbert thought that << the leaders of these Kurdish movements claim a Kurdish peculiarity they seek to draw>>¹³. However, it seems reasonable to think that the displayed idea is more careful than envisaged, since any idea contrary to the union under the Ottoman identity was heavily repressed. This is certainly why in an open call published in 1901 in the Armenian journal arménien *Diruchak*,

⁹ Bozarslan (1989), p. 162.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

¹¹ Babanzade I. H., « Kürdler ve Kürdistan » (« Les Kurdes et le Kurdistan »), *KTTG*, n° 1, 1908.

¹² Article 5 des statuts du KTTTC.

¹³ Scalbert (2006), p. 257.

Abdurrahman Bedir Khan in an open call to the people in the uprising posted its goal of independence:

So you have shed much blood for the sultan that would destroy you, what did you do to defend Kurdistan? [...] Now Act according to regain your independence and the happy days that you once had!¹⁴

It is under these conditions that the claims of the Kurdish intellectuals are reduced to ethnic recognition within the Ottoman Empire. Their project is never explicit but a nationalist reaction lies underneath their discourse. Words like “mission, struggle, youth, Kurd, kurdicity” recur. The editorial board of *Rojî Kurd* says on the first page of the first issue before concluding:

Well, today the Kurdish youth has its responsibility to the Kurdishness and to the whole world. This youth promised to fulfill its mission and struggle with the nobility and knowledge against the punch of humiliation with which one hits Kurdishness¹⁵

The terms “punch” and “humiliation” reoccur often in the pages of the KKTG and are curiously reminiscent of the complaint expressed by Ahmed Khan in his novel *Mem et Zine* written in 1695. Khani affirms that he has written his work to save the honour of the Kurds that don’t have the tradition of written literature.

Explaining the purpose of the publication is manifested as a tradition in the Kurdish press because we observed the same process in the first issue of *Kurdistan*, the first Kurdish newspaper published in Cairo.

I pity the Kurds, although they are more alert and intelligent than many people [...] are not educated and rich as other people and do not know what is happening in the world, do not know their neighbor, Moscow, and that what prepares. This is why, to help, I published the newspaper¹⁶.

Language and literature as tools of awakening

In the beginning of *Mem et Zine*, Ahmedê Khanî talked about his choice of language, blaming the Kurdish writers of his time to neglect their own language. But, in the passage where he praised god, Khani affirms his astonishment for the situation of the Kurds stateless and oppressed divided between different countries. One observes that Khanî’s concern is for one part political and for the other part literary and linguistic. Political because he wishes to see the Kurds to be master over their own destiny and saved from *Rûm û Acem* (*Turks and Persians*); linguistic because his choice for Kurdish is a tool for national existence; literary because he reunited all his ideas in a love story and written the first Kurdish novel.

It is Important to mention that the publication of excerpts of *Mem* and *Zine* was omnipresent in the Kurdish press of Istanbul at the time. Miqdad Mithat Bedir Khan who announced his wish to publish one day the complete work of *Mem et Zine* in the journal *Kurdistan*¹⁷ kept his

¹⁴ Cf. Malmîsanij (1992), pp. 17-18.

¹⁵ *Rojî Kurd*, n° 1, 1913

¹⁶ Miqdad Mithet Bedir Khan, *Kurdistan*, n° 1, 1898.

¹⁷ *Kurdistan*, n° 2, 1898; It is important to emphasize that *Mem* and *Zin* had never been published before, but that copies of manuscripts circulated in the Kurdish madrasas.

promise 21 years later. This was why the complete edition of *Mem Zine* was advertised as a big news in the newspaper *Jîn* ("Life", 1919) and the announcement was published in several issues of the journal until the publication of the book. Hemzeyê Muksî expresses in the preface of the first complete edition of *Mem et Zine* the goal:

To every people and every nation, literature and literary works are like solid foundations for the big palaces. [...] Every people and every nation that works to accept its existence and its national power, has from the beginning to strongly consider its literature and literary works¹⁸.

The attachment to this book written two centuries ago may have two reasons. The first one would hold that *Mem* and *Zine* is the premise of the Kurdish literature, but the importance of this book lies rather in the fact that the first Kurdish nationalist ideas are clearly expressed there. This leads us to say that literature was in the service of politics, not to say that it nourished politics.

The approach of Hemzeyê Muksî could also be observed among its predecessors. Among the 27 articles of the statute of the KTTC four of them evoked encouragement on the Kurdish language. As for the association *Hêvî* (*Hope*) the first Kurdish student association, that continues in the same line of argumentation:

There is no nation with half a language. [...] Transform the Kurdish language into a language for reading and writing, producing books in that language and disseminate it throughout Kurdistan, and in this way, teach the science and art to the Kurds are among our main objectives.¹⁹

Thus, at a time when the fate of the Ottoman Empire and that of the Kurds loomed, working for Kurdish language and literature was associated closely to the Kurdish political movement organized by the newspapers. One might think that a newspaper for an audience that is predominantly illiterate would have no success, but the Kurdish intellectuals still used this way because, if newspapers can be published in Istanbul, they nevertheless know that what they write gets to a suitable destination via public readings.

A letter published in the first Kurdish journal, *Kurdistan*, shows us how the obstacle of illiteracy is cleverly avoided:

The newspaper that our Emir published has arrived in Damascus. I found a [copy]. I gathered all Kurdish relatives. As soon as they saw that the newspaper was called *Kurdistan* and the owner is our Emir, they all kissed the journal and put it on their heads. They were very happy. Then I read them [the newspaper]. They were so happy that it seemed you had offered them the whole world.²⁰

¹⁸ Cf. M. Emîn Bozarslan (1985), « preface of the reedition of *de Jîn* », p. 69.

¹⁹ Cf. Malmîsanij (2002), p. 100.

²⁰ N. H., « Teqrîz » (« Louange »), *Kurdistan*, n° 3, 1898.

If they are illiterate, they know how to listen and understand because orality has always been a strong tradition with them: "They understood the advice and news that you had written. They understood that it was something good. They discussed it among themselves."²¹

Another letter of a reader, send from Adana, proves that the practice of public readings and reader response to this journal are general: "I have not stopped reading it. I called the Kurds, I read them [the newspaper]. They were so happy that they did not know what to say"²²

Nevertheless, the number 13, another letter, informs the newspaper that for three months they received Kurdistan but that "government officers do not let us read freely." On this information, Miqdad Midhat Bedirkhan published in his newspaper an open letter to the Sultan asking in vain to lift the ban²³.

The new Turkey

The experience of the first Kurdish newspapers and magazines in Ottoman times reflects a distrust of all ethnic Kurdish claims. Nevertheless, the CUP project appeared to be a serious solution to the identity crisis of a great empire that sought. But this first experiment failed because Turkish nationalism dialectically raised Kurdish nationalism that would now lead the Kurdish movement against the new Turkish Republic, founded in 1923.

The leaders of this new country had exactly the same vision as the CUP against Kurds. That said, the historical circumstances of a new country out of war made it impossible to implement a policy of exclusion since the new country also needed the Kurds to face up to the Western countries that shared the Ottoman land. Already, after the famous first independent congress, the congress of Erzurum, in July 1919, the future leaders of Turkey promised "equality and fraternity" to the Kurdish officials. Given the war against the West but especially the Christian enemy, these leaders knew the sensibilities of the Kurds of the time, and used especially Islam to expose their future project: "a Muslim state based on Turkish-Kurdish brotherhood "²⁴.

At the first National Assembly set up on April 23, 1920 at the beginning of the Republic this new project was going to be very apparent in the official discourse. The creator and first president of the Turkish Republic, Atatürk, would give a revolutionary speech before the meeting, in May 1920, claiming the new identity of the country in which he inserted the entire Muslim ethnic group while stating that the word "Turkish" does not mean only those who are of Turkish origin and he redefined this new identity as a federated identity²⁵. We're still in a reorganization of speech or reformulation of life with each other or with others. Atatürk seems to have understood the situation and offered a strong solution by expanding the meaning of the Turkish name with a new formula. That said, it's still himself that would write, two months later, in June 1920, the commander at the front in El-Cezire, stating on behalf of his government, he had to

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Seyid Tahirê Botî, « Ji bo Cerîdeya Kurdistanê » (« For the Journal *Kurdistan* »), *Kurdistan*, n° 5, 1898.

²³ ²³ Ş. M., « Kaxezek e ji Kurdistanê hatî » (« A paper arrived from Kurdistan »), *Kurdistan*, n° 13, 1899.

²⁴ Hamit Bozarslan (2004), *Histoire de la Turquie contemporaine*, Paris: La Découverte, p. 36.

²⁵ Mehmet Evsile (2013), "Birinci Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Hükümetinin Kürt Politikası" pp. 59-66 in *History Studys*, cild. 5, kısım 3, haziran 2013.

join the Kurdish leaders to the cause, and that they had to assign administrative positions and official gifts to convince them to stay in Turkey²⁶. An alliance with the Kurdish tribes who wrote letters of allegiance to the Ankara government would strengthen the young Republic in negotiations with the British and the French. It is based on these letters that the Turkish Prime Minister Ismet Inonu, said at the Lausanne Conference in July 1923, that "the Turkish government represents both the Turks that the Kurds"²⁷. The Lausanne Conference was the last point of recognition of the Turkish Republic by Western countries who formalized the final and present division of the Kurdish land.

Like it was the case for the CUP, the leaders of the new Turkey would forget their promise and, once reassured of their power they would consider the Kurds as "potential enemy to the nation"²⁸.

It was actually the same story but it was not the same experience. The new government did not intend to let this problem continue to be a threat for the future to recur in every political crisis. It had to end once and for all as was done with the Armenian question. They had to turn off any hint of Kurdishness to establish, finally, the project of creating a homogeneous nation built on a single language. This was why the Turkish Prime Minister Ismet Inonu, wrote the following in a letter to a British diplomat:

"We are candidly nationalist and nationalism is our cohesion. Before the Turkish majority, other items have no kind of influence. We must at all costs turkify the inhabitants of our country. We will annihilate those who oppose the Turks and Turkism."²⁹.

The idea of such a nationalism must be interpreted in relation to the history of the Ottoman Empire. For its multinational composition is considered an important reason in the fall of the Empire. Fearing that history repeats itself, the new Turkey choose to deny the existence of minorities on its territory and to mix the large Turkish population. A strict nationalism and statism were adopted under the name of Kemalism. This is why Bozarslan considers Kemalism as "a doctrine of survival."³⁰ Not only had they to establish a strong Turkish identity, but they also had to remove everything that could be a future obstacle to the implementation of this project of the homogeneous nation.

In 1925 a report was prepared by the national assembly. Here Abdulhalik Renda, the president of the assembly, clearly states a plan to assimilate such as exercised in the colonies in Africa, but this time to assimilate the Kurds of Turkey in the Turkish identity.

"After the domination of the Turkish language is assured, Turkish marriages between Turks and Kurds should be promoted and by the prohibition of any other language

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Hamit Bozarslan (2004), *Histoire de la Turquie contemporaine*, Paris: La Découverte, p. 36

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Bozarslan (1991), p. 24

supporting and remunerating those who speak Turkish, so that the Kurds become Turkish.³¹"

This new policy would be formalized on 14 June 1934 by a law on forced settlement that aimed to increase the number of people of Turkish origin in the Kurdish region and to disperse Kurds on Turkish territory. Thus expressed Sukru Kaya, minister of internal affairs, the purpose of this law:

"Our goal is that they quickly forget their mother tongue by mixing with the great Turkish mass, which is why those who are not of Turkish origin must be distributed in cities, districts or villages so that they cannot create ghettos.³² "

As we see it, the approach of the new Turkey against Kurds was clearly based on a policy of assimilation. This is why the names of Kurdish towns and villages have been changed, Kurdish traditional clothes were banned and presented as outdated, and the Kurdish language was banned and presented as a poor language that could never meet the modern and civilized world. At the expense of the Kurdish identity, conveyed by the language and traditional culture, the public schools were made obligatory to teach, for a century, the glorious Turkish identity for which new generations proclaimed their willingness to sacrifice every morning.

A very interesting novel of Yashar Kemal took up this Turkish-Kurdish history and illustrated it through an animal world, certainly to avoid reprisals from Turkish leaders. This Kurdish novelist who has become one of the largest writers of literature in Turkish language, if not the largest, features a country of ants invaded by elephants who are trying to make them believe that ants are indeed offspring of their species. This was the official theory of the Turkish Republic against Kurds³³. The ants eventually submitted to it and simply invented this story from scratch as they had no choice but to submit to the elephants who were too strong for them.

The assimilation policy by the government of the elephants, the theories that scientifically supported this origin of the ants, linguists seeking to show that the language of ants was a distorted variant of the language of elephants, etc., all that was, in the novel, a representation of the situation of the Kurdish nation in Turkey. A program offered to the king of the elephants by his adviser was developed in this regard. The counselor suggested the king to assimilate ants in schools so that they forget their origins, their culture and especially their language and become elephants. Otherwise, we could never finish with the question of ants. This is why the King of the elephants who understood how to succeed once and for all uttered these words before his council while some ants had revolted to make war with elephants leading an armed struggle.

³¹ Bayrak (2009), p. 98.

³² Cigerli (1999), *Les Kurdes et leur histoire*, p. 111.

³³For more information on the subject read *Güneş Dil teorisi et Devletler arasi sömürge Kürdistan d'Ismail Beşikçi*.

"The key issue is that of language. Remember that. They forget their first language and lose their identity and become voluntarily elephants ... Instead of cutting off their heads, it is best to cut their language³⁴. "

This illustration sufficiently explains the vision that the dominant and the dominated have over the issue of language. The dominated should submit to the new identity they are offered in order for the conflict not to degenerate³⁵. This also explains why the Turkish laws strictly forbade Kurdish and why the claims of the Kurds are now focusing in particular on the issue of the Kurdish language in education.

The modern era

The history of Turkey in the 20th century has gone through three military coups that led to constitutional changes. Language took a political direction in the treatment of minorities in Turkey. This is why in the first three articles of the Turkish Constitution in force since 1982, it is stated that "the state language is Turkish" and that "all who live in Turkey are Turks." The fourth article is supporting the others and prevents any idea that would call them into question, stating that "the first three items cannot be modified or their amendment may be proposed³⁶."

The articles concerning the use of languages in national education and the press are going in the same direction. Thus, in Article 26 of the Constitution, it states:

ARTICLE 26: (...) No language banned by the law can be used to express and spread thoughts.

It is important to note that these "prohibited languages" are not mentioned in the text. In Article 28 that explains the use of languages in the press, it says this:

ARTICLE 28: The press is free and shall not be censored. (...) No language banned by law cannot be used in publications.

The year after the adoption of this Constitution, in 1983, a new law was passed by the government. The Law No. 2932 framed the use of foreign languages in Turkey. Section 2 of this act stated that "No other language besides the first official languages of the countries recognized by the Turkish state cannot be used in the dissemination, in spreading the ideas and publications."

Article 3 of the same law added to avoid confusion, "the mother tongue of the Turkish citizens is Turkish".

The Law No. 2932 was abolished in 1991 by a decree. In the course of reforms, relating to the

³⁴ Yaşar Kemal, the king of the elephants le Roi des éléphants, p. 73. (La citation est traduite par nous à partir de la version kurde préparée par Mustafa Aydoğan et publiée par les éditions Nûdem en 1997).

³⁵ The works of Albert Memmi shows degeneration that dominated-dominant relationships can lead to one and in the other.

³⁶ Turkish Constitution , article 4.

accession of Turkey to the European Union, adopted on 3 October 2001, the Constitution was revised and the mention of the prohibition of Articles 26 and 28 had been removed. However, the third paragraph of Article 42 of the Turkish Constitution still mentions this ban in public education:

ARTICLE 42: No language other than Turkish shall be taught to Turkish citizens as their mother tongue or used to provide them with education as such in education and educational institutions.

The reforms adopted in 2002 aimed at improving the situation of minority languages. Nevertheless, expressions and words seem carefully chosen:

Law 4771, ARTICLE 1: The object of this law is to regulate the provisions on foreign language learning in institutes of education and training, in centers offering lessons in foreign languages and arrangements on learning **different languages and dialects that Turkish citizens traditionally use in their daily lives.**

One sees that these languages are still not mentioned, but this time it is framed under an ambiguous phrase: "different languages and dialects that Turkish citizens use." The use of the two terms "language" and "dialect" together reveals that the status of minority languages is not yet clear in the Turkish official discourse. In our view, this expression leaves a door open towards a move backwards³⁷. The contradiction is explicit in particular in the second article.

Law 4771, ARTICLE 2: No language other than Turkish shall be taught to Turkish citizens as their mother tongue. (...)

If we allow from now on the learning process in private classes, we do not recognize the Kurdish mother tongue. It is with this objective that Article 8 of the same law lists *"requirements for participation in the course"* and makes access to classes difficult for children.

One can easily observe that any authorization of the Kurdish education is limited to a personal context and, if in education, it cannot affect young children. This is one reason why, in 2004, all these courses, the number of which amounted to seven across Turkey, have closed their doors after a year of teaching. Because practice has shown that these Kurdish courses were carried out in the sense of learning any foreign language and posed no interest to the people who already speak that language, to the extent that, except the existence of these courses, Kurdish was not favored. Consequently, learning Kurdish did not exceed the limits of being a curiosity.

Today an official television channel broadcasts programs only in Kurdish, and Kurdish is taught, since 2008, even in the universities that have created sections of Language and Civilization of

³⁷ It is important to recall that until 2002 the Kurdish language was considered a branch of the Turkish language in the Turkish public discourse and Kurds were seen as "mountain Turks."

the Kurds. The government (formed the AKP) has even inserted Kurdish language courses in public schools as optional during the last year of primary school, i.e. for children over 11 years, without any explicit reason for this limitation.

If not watched more closely these actions set by the current Turkish government seem misleading. Indeed, the official television channel already broadcast in languages like Persian and Arabic in order to expand the influence and promotion of Turkey in the region. The content of the program is no different from the Turkish version of the same chain. It's the same speech and the same vision that is set in both channels in different languages. Because today the Iraqi Kurdistan Region is a major market for Turkish companies but also an important neighbor because of its oil reserves, we can consider that this channel was not only about the Kurds in Turkey. Moreover, the choice of the Kurmanji dialect in this television station was to seduce the Turkish Kurds who watched more often the TV channel close to the Kurdish movement, especially the PKK.

It is within this context that, in 2003, a law no 4928 proposed in its 14th article "Broadcasting in languages and dialects that Turkish citizens traditionally use in their daily lives."

As we see it, we still do not know what language and what dialects it is about in this law. That said, the official channel began broadcasting a 45 minute program in Kurdish from 7 June 2004. Following the logic of the same law and the same speech, the Turkish TRT channel officially inaugurated a new antenna, TRT 6, which changed its name to TRT *Kurdi* currently.

The experience of the Kurdish sections in universities was not very productive either, because the issue already came from the name and the legal framework of these sections. Indeed, Kurdish does not enter to the university as the language of some of the citizens of the country but as a foreign language or, more precisely, a "living language" in Turkey. We do not know when or how this language came to live in the country, since French, English, Arabic, Persian and even Japanese are taught in universities for a long time. No law explicitly protects Kurdish today and its presence in universities, as no law protects Kurdish courses in public schools.

A study of the large Turkish daily *Hurriyet* has shown that Kurdish as optional course did not interest students. In the largest Kurdish city in Turkey, Diyarbakir, from the 35,855 students involved, only 4969 chose Kurdish as optional course³⁸. This figure was officially 21,000 throughout Turkey.

Everyone knows why this figure is very low in the first year; one need not look far. Turkey has never liked those who spoke and claimed Kurdish. Caution and distrust were the first reaction of the Kurds. This is certainly why the number of students who opted for Kurdish mounted from 21 000 to 160 000 in one year³⁹.

Another reason that prevented the smooth progress of these courses is more important than the first: no teachers trained in universities to teach Kurdish had been hired by the

³⁸ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/iste-secmeli-kurtce-nin-turkiye-haritasi-22534618>

³⁹ Cf: Roşan Lezgin "Olan ama olmayan Kürtçe seçmeli ders", <http://www.ilkehaber.com/haber/olan-ama-pratikte-olmayan-kurtce-secmeli-ders-27533.htm>

department. Schools that displayed Kurdish courses proposed students rather to choose instead the "Life of the Prophet" which was also offered as an optional course and easier to validate because the Kurdish courses were likely to be without a teacher.

This experience of teaching in universities and in public schools has posed another question: what do we mean by the teaching of Kurdish? Is this the teaching of Kurdish or by a Kurdish? The discourse of conflict is manifested precisely on this issue.

The Deputy Prime Minister and at the same time spokesman of the Turkish government in 2012, Bulent Arinc, gave a very interesting answer to this question by taking a vocabulary that concerns us: "No, but, is Kurdish really a civilized language to become a language of instruction? "

Civilization? What a charged word for such a huge story! If you pronounce it before historians and sociologists, they certainly will talk about the history of colonialism. And the following year, in November 2013, the Turkish President, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, mentioned the word Kurdistan in a speech in Diyarbakir.

The contradiction in the speech of Turkish leaders is very large. This is why President Erdogan offered the regional system day that he denied two days later. Bulent Arinc even apologized a week later saying "No, but would I be rude to the point to denigrate a language like Kurdish?" Obviously, we do not know what we'll do. We face a government that negotiates with the PKK for three years and finally made a joint statement at the Dolmabahce Palace in Istanbul. Symbolically very well chosen because it is the place where Ataturk died in 1938. But President Erdogan has completely refused to recognize the joint statement read by Deputy Prime Minister Yalcin Akdogan in the presence of members of the HDP, pro-Kurdish party, accused by the government of being linked to the PKK.

In fact, it all began with the first movement of Erdogan in Diyarbakir when he announced "The Kurdish question is my question!" and "The Kurds are my brothers!". The problem is that the language of his brothers is still not enshrined in law to be protected permanently. Now we can say "it will get better in the future." It are the laws and the Constitution in particular who decide, and the speeches of the leaders should be followed and supported by laws. But two recent examples help us to demonstrate the misleading nature of oral official speech in Turkey. Moreover, President Erdogan has always indicated "we have no mother tongue education in our program!" speaking of Kurdish in education; because he finds that this is not going in the direction of national unity.

Kurdish courses provided by Kurdish associations are closely monitored by the police. Schools that these associations have set up under the aegis of town halls were closed by police.

Mayors from the HDP, pro-Kurdish party, were stripped of their functions and state officials replaced them by order of the government. These mayors were already in process since they had put signs in Kurdish at the entrance of the town halls. The new mayors decided to remove these signs in Kurdish before the interior minister was opposed to reporters who questioned, and the same new mayors put the same panels in Kurdish back in place. One may wonder on what law the new majors based themselves to remove these panels and under what law the interior minister had them put back. In fact, it's simple: there is no law.

Regarding national unity, nothing can be done since Turkey has always lived with a complex division when it comes to the Kurds. Now the end of the Ottoman Empire has shown us that we could not stifle ethnic problems. France, which served as reference to Turkey with its linguistic prohibitions itself abandoned the idea of a single language and lets Breton and Corsican be taught today. In Switzerland, Belgium, Canada, India and South Africa, several languages live together without posing obstacles to national unity since the nations are not created on a single language as is the case in many countries.

What is quite observable in the speech of the Erdogan government is that it has not provided a specific program for this very special issue of Kurdish and Kurds. He will, too, certainly solve this problem but without explicitly register in the text, just as it was in Ottoman times. Because, as noted above, you never know, you always have to make sure there is a way back.

That said, the union program based on promises while Erdogan's party has been in power for 14 years in Turkey no longer convinces the Kurds who are more politicized than ever. Turkish leaders harden the tone of their speech by taking an ancient language displaying the words "terrorism", "savagery" and "barbarism" with regard to the Kurdish movement that they want to suppress by military violence and the destruction of cities that we have observed in 2015 and 2016. Of course, the Turkish government would not accept in any case that it is accused of having used violence in the face of civilian areas.

The king of the elephants said to the ants that were complaining about the violence exercised by the elephants:

"No, but it is I who have attacked you? The nation of elephants never attack anyone! The nation of elephants is pacifist, caring. Why would it attack without reason the country of ants? (...) We elephants, we only defend ourselves ... the whole world knows that. It are the ants who attacked us first. The ants have destroyed our homes and cities. And there you have your answer. Yes, you asked for it. You have upset pacifist elephants⁴⁰.

It is important to keep in mind that Turks and Kurds have been evolving for centuries in a geographical, cultural and religious proximity which necessarily undermines the power relations that underlie the classical concepts of colonialism that it still seeks to impose on Kurdish people, but that leaves a door open to a calm, tolerance, acceptance of others and their differences. Turkey has already made a big way in this direction, but it did not give up the complex of a supposedly superior nation. As Fanon in *Black Skin, White Mask* rightly points, "Between black and white (...) true love will remain impossible until the complex will not be expelled⁴¹."

Today everything seems to move towards a fiercer war than ever. Neither side will stop, even when the PKK said openly no longer to claim the independence of Kurdistan by adopting a new program it calls "democratic confederation", which provides a communal life between all

⁴⁰ Yaşar Kemal, *le Roi des éléphants*, p. 29.

⁴¹ Fanon, *Peau noire masque blanc*, p. 40.

the ethnic groups of the region. Needless to say that at the Turkish side this project is considered like a tactic.

Nevertheless, a pacifist path is still possible even if the train of such a resolution has already been abandoned once, after long negotiations between the AKP and the PKK.

Bibliographic references of work on the language and history of the Kurds

AYDOGAN Ibrahim Seydo (2009), « Celadet Bedirxan û çavkaniyên Hawarê û kurdaniya bîrewer » (« Djeladet Bedirkhan et les sources de *Hawar* et de la *kurdicité éclairée* »), *Zend*, n° 17, été 2009, Istanbul, pp. 40-55.

AYDOGAN Ibrahim Seydo (2010), « Guman : Pîrozî, avakirina neteweyan û wêje », (« Le doute : le sacre, la création des nations et la littérature »), *Le Monde diplomatique kurdî*, n° 12, octobre 2010.

AYDOGAN Îbrahîm Seydo (2012), "Littérature par la presse : une nouvelle voie en kurde" in *YOD*, Paris : INALCO, pp. 37-51.

AYDOGAN Îbrahîm Seydo (2013), *Guman 1 : Zimanê Kurdî, Demsazî, Watesazî, Hevoksazî û Gotar*, Amed : Lîs, 368 p..

AYDOGAN Îbrahîm Seydo (2014), *Guman 2 : Wêjeya Kurdî û Romana Kurdî*, Stenbol : Rûpel, 471 p..

BAYRAK M. (2004). Ismet Paşa'nın ve Celal Bayar'ın Kürdistan Gezileri ve Kürt raporları (Les voyages d' Ismet Pacha et de Celal Bayar au Kurdistan et leurs rapports sur les Kurdes). *Bîrnebûn*, n° 23, pp. 63-66.

BAYRAK Mehmet (2009), *Kürtlere vurulan kelepçe, şark islahat planı*, Ankara: Ozge, p. 38.

BEDIRXAN Celadet, *Bir Kürt Aydinindan Mustafa Kemal e Mektûb*, çapa nû 1992, Stenbol: Doz.

BEDIRXAN, Celadet Ali (1934/1997). *De la question kurde*. Istanbul : Avesta. 80 p.

BESIKCI Ismail (1990), *Devletlerarasi sömürge Kürdistan*, p. 295.

BOZARSLAN Hamit (1989), « Révolution française et Jeunes Turcs (1908-1914) », *Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée*, n° 52-53, pp. 160-172.

BOZARSLAN (1997), *La question kurde* : Etats et Minorités au Moyen-Orient, Paris : Presse de Science Po. 383 p..

BOZARSLAN Hamit (2001), « Les émirats kurdes, de l'autonomie à la centralisation ottomane », site *Clio*
http://www.clio.fr/BIBLIOTHEQUE/les_emirats_kurdes_de_lautonomie_a_la_centralisation_ottomane.asp#biblio, mai 2001, consulté en février 2011.

BOZARSLAN (2004), *Histoire de la Turquie contemporaine*, Paris : La découverte. 123 p..

BOZARSLAN M. Emîn (1988), *Kurd Teavûn ve Terakki Gazetesi, réédité en un volume*, Uppsala, Weşanên Deng.

BOZARSLAN M. Emin (1991), *Kurdistan* t. 1 et 2, réédité en deux volumes, Uppsala, Weşanên Deng.

CALVET Louis-Jean (2005), *La guerre des langues et les politiques linguistiques*, Paris : Hachette, 294 p.

CELÎL Celîlê (1985), *Jiyana Rewşenbîrî û Siyasî ya Kurdan di dawiya sedsala 19'an û destpêka sedsala 20'an de* (« La vie intellectuelle et politique des Kurdes à la fin du XIX^e siècle et au début du XX^e siècle »), traduit du sorani en kurmandji par Elîşêr, Uppsala, Jîna Nû.

CESAIRE Aimée (1955), *Discours sur le colonialisme*, édition de 2004, Paris: Présence Africaine, 92 p.

CIGERLI Sabri (1999), *Les Kurdes et leur histoire*, Paris : L'Harmattan. 192 p.. (Collection « Comprendre le Moyen-Orient »).

CONSTITUTION TURQUE: <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/anayasa/main.htm>

ERSOY Sait (2002), *Rojî Kurd*, réédité en un volume, Istanbul, Weşanên War.

EVSİLE Mehmet (2013), "Birinci Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Hükümetinin Kürt Politikası" (La politique kurde de la première Assemblée Nationale Turque) pp. 59-66 in *History Studys*, cild. 5, kısım 3, haziran 2013.

FANON Frantz (1952), *Peau noire masques blancs*, Paris: Seuil, 225 p.

FANON Frantz (1961), *Les damnés de la terre*, édition de 2002 avec la préface de Jean Paul Sartre, Paris: La découverte poche, 311 p.

HAGEGE Claude (1992), *Le souffle de la langue. Voies et destins des parlers d'Europe*, Paris : Odil Jacob, 286 p..

HAGEGE Claude (2000), *Halte à la mort de langues*, Paris : Odil Jacob, 402 p..

HALFIN (2008), *19. yüzyılda Kürdistan üzerine mücadeleler*, traduit de l'arabe par Komal, çapa sêyem, Stenbol: Komal, 144 p.

HASANPOUR Emir (2005), *Kürdistan'da dil ve milliyetçilik* (Langue et Nationalisme au Kurdistan, traduit de l'anglais en turc par Ibrahim BINGOL et Cemil GUNDOGAN), Istanbul : Avesta, 712 p..

KUTSCHERA Chris. (1979), *Le mouvement national kurde*, Paris : Flammarion, 393 p..

LEEZENBERG Michiel (2002), "The Origins of Kurdish national consciousness : Vernacularization and religious learning" pp. 107-114 in AYDOGAN (ed), *Kurdoloji: gotarên Konferansa Kurdolojiyê*, Colemêrg: Weşanên Zanîngeha Hekariyê, 328 p..

LOOMBA Ania (1998), *Kolonyalizm Postkolonyalizm*, traduit de l'anglais en turc par Mehmet Kuçuk en 2000, Istanbul: Ayrinti, 310 p.

M. MALMÎSANIJ (2010), *Antikurdolojiden Kürdolojiye giden yol ve Ismail Beşikçi*, Istanbul : Vate, 74 p..

MALMÎSANIJ M. (1986), *Yüzyilimizin başlarında Kürt Milliyetçiliği ve Dr. Abdullah Cewdet* (« Le nationalisme kurde et le Dr. Abdullah Cewdet au début du siècle »), Stockholm, Jîna Nû.

MALMÎSANIJ M. (1999), *Kürt Tevavvün ve Terakki Cemiyeti ve Gazetesi* (en turc, L'Association Kurde pour la Solidarité et le Progrès et son journal), 2^e éd. (1^{er} éd. en 1998 à Stockholm), Istanbul, Avesta, p. 18.

MALMÎSANIJ M. (2002), *Kürt Talebe-Hêvî Cemiyeti*: İlk Legal Kürt Öğrenci Derneği (« Association d'Etudiants-Espoir kurde: première association légale d'étudiants kurdes »), Istanbul, Avesta.

MALMÎSANIJ M. (2006), *Türkiye ve Suriyede Kitap Yayıncılığının dünü ve bugünü* (en turc, « L'Histoire de la publication du livre en Turquie et en Syrie »), Istanbul, Vate.

MEMMI Albert (2004), *Portrait du colonisé précédé du Portrait du Colonisateur*, teva pêşgotina Jean-Paul Sartre, Paris: Gallimard folio actuel, 164 p.

MEMMI Albert (2004), *Portrait du décolonisé*, Paris: Gallimard folio actuel, 221 p.

NEZAN Kendal (2000), « La genèse du nationalisme kurde », *Confluences Méditerranée*, n° 34, pp. 27-36.

PICARD Elizabeth, dir. (1991). *La question kurde*. Bruxelles : Editions Complexe. 161 p..

SCALBERT Clémence (2006), « L'élaboration de la langue kurde en Turquie (1898-1943) : d'un simple outil d'éveil national au pivot de la définition identitaire » in ALEN GARABATO Carmen (éd.), *L'éveil des nationalités et les revendications linguistiques en Europe (1830-1930)*, Paris, L'Harmattan, pp. 255-274.

SILOPÎ Zinar (Qedrî Cemîl Paşa) (2007), *Doza Kurdistan* (« La Cause du Kurdistan »), traduit en kurde par Omer Dewran, 3^e éd. (1^{er} éd. en 1989 en Belgique), Diyarbakir, Bîr.

THIONG'O Ngugi wa (2011), *Décoloniser l'esprit*, traduit de l'anglais par Sylvain Prudhomme, Paris: La fabrique, 167 p.

UZUN Mehmed (1993), *Hêz û Bedewiya Pênûsê* (« La beauté et la force de la plume »), Stockholm, Nûdem.

Introduction to Kurdi Der

Kurdish Institute, Brussels, Belgium

Kurdi Der is an educational centre for Research and Promotion of the Kurdish language, which provides Kurdish lessons to Kurdish children, youngsters and adults, who can't learn their own language at Turkish schools. Kurdi Der also provides training to people who want to become Kurdish teachers. By teaching the Kurdish language to Kurdish children and youngsters Kurdi Der is helping to raise awareness within the Kurdish community about their right to education in their mother tongue. Unfortunately the Turkish state denies this basic human right to the Kurds and to other ethnic-religious groups living in Turkey. Moreover education in any other language than Turkish is forbidden. Article 42 of the Turkish constitution states that *"No language other than Turkish shall be thought as mother tongue to Turkish citizens at any institutions of training or education. Foreign languages to be taught in institutions of training and education and the rules to be followed by schools conducting training and education in a foreign language shall be determined by law. The provisions of international treaties are reserved."* The use of Kurdish in training and education is banned without being mentioned.

Organisations like Kurdi Der, which are not officially recognized by the Turkish government, are the subject of repression and persecution by state authorities. They have been targeted by Turkish authorities long before the current purge of the entire Turkish educational system (after the failed coup in July 2015).

On the 25th May 2016, Mr. **Ozan Kiliç**, the co-chairman of Kurdî-Der was arrested. He is currently still in jail, awaiting his trial. The arrest of Mr. Ozan Kiliç demonstrates the nature of the situation when it comes to Kurdish language. It shows that the Turkish state is unwilling to recognize its own reality, namely the very existence of other ethnic and religious groups within its boundaries, and that it is going to pursue the same state policy that was followed in its founding years, that is one of denial, assimilation and eradication.

Kurdi Der has two schools in Diyarbakir (Amed). One of them, **Ali Erel Educational Support House**, which provides training and education in Kurdish, was closed by the Diyarbakir Governorate in the beginning of this year. Kurdi Der send an application to the European Court of Human Rights to ask for an interim injunction so as to be able to reopen the school. In appendix we have added their appeal to the European Court of Human Rights. It is a great example on both the juridical context and of the daily struggle Kurdi Der has to undertake to exercise their basic human rights.

The other school of Kurdi Der in Diyarbakir **Ferzad Kemanger Elementary School**, which also provides education in Kurdish, is still open to this date (September 2016). It doesn't only provide classes in Kurdish, it is also organised as a democratic and communal school. In the following texts Kurdi Der explains how they teach Kurdish and how their school is functioning.

What is innovative in their approach is their communal way of organising their school, in which e.g. group work is encouraged and course materials are shared according to needs. The school is administrated in a democratic way and parents are actively involved in the education of their children. Moreover teachers aren't considered to be an authority, they are considered to be

guides to the pupils. Teachers can be criticised, in polite and non-abusive manners, by their students.

In this European youth workers and ngo's can learn a lot from the experiences of Kurdi Der, both in the way they approach their teaching and in how they deal with repression and the denial of their right to education in their mother tongue.

On the other hand, European youth work has a great deal of experience in methodologies of human rights education. We were very happy to be able to use the excellent book 'Compass: Manual for Human Rights Education with Young people' which was published in 2002 within the framework of the Human Rights Education Youth Programme of the Directorate of Youth and Sport of the Council of Europe. Unfortunately the manual doesn't exist (yet) in either Kurdish or Turkish. The manual contains several "games" which were developed to make it easier (and definitely more fun) to talk about difficult topics such as human rights violations with children and youngsters and encourage them to think and debate about these topics. The manual of Compass, which can be downloaded in English on

<http://www.coe.int/en/web/compass/home> contains games on topics such as democracy, human rights, children's rights, education, environment, equal rights for women and men (gender), press freedom and freedom of expression, urbanisation, labour, violence and discrimination and many more. Obviously, though the manual is meant to be universal, the games have to be adapted to the local context.

Going through the book only made us realize even more how Kurdish children lack almost all of these rights, making most of the examples in the manual off possible interest to them. The book, for example, contains a game on child labour, which unfortunately also still exists in the Kurdish region, out of sheer economic necessity (e.g. when fathers die or go to jail the oldest child has to go and work in a factory to raise a little money so his family has something to eat).

On top of this we have to conclude, sadly, that the whole idea of using these games as a methodology on human rights education, which is definitely a good idea, is being made virtually impossible because of the grave deterioration in the Kurdish region since spring 2015. What good can such a manual do when huge parts of cities are completely destroyed because of the war and so many people are homeless refugees in their own country? What use does the manual have when schools are being closed down by the government and teachers are fired or jailed? At the beginning of this school year (September 2016) over 11.000 Kurdish teachers were fired in one single stroke, because they are either accused of supporting the PKK or Gülen. Right after the July-coup attempt the Erdoğan-government had already fired 21.000 teachers and all off the university deans got suspended. In face off such a huge purge off the whole educational system and such draconian repression against teachers and academics, it seems almost silly to advise Kurdish teachers on methods of human rights education, from a Western point of view, since so many off those teachers are currently not able to teach their pupils basically anything, because they are either fired or jailed. In short the whole right to education itself is gravely violated in Turkey.

Nevertheless, we decided to include some off the Compass-games at the end of this book. Because organisations like Kurdi Der are trying hard to teach their children about exactly these topics: democracy, human rights, ecology, peace, equal rights and gender equality. Kurdi Der already uses an educational approach which is based on similar ideas as the methodologies put forward in Compass. They use similar ways of working with their pupils, such as described under the chapter 'Approaches to human rights education in Compass'. For example at the Kurdi Der schools teachers are not considered to be 'leaders' but 'guides', who can in fact be criticized by the students themselves. This is very similar to the 'Learner-centredness' as a principle of the pedagogical basis in Compass. In the same way 'cooperative learning' and democratic 'participation' are basic principles at the Kurdi Der schools. Obviously right now Kurdi Der doesn't need our Western-based lessons, but our full support! Nevertheless we generally hope that one day they will be able to use and adapt the Compass-manual or find inspiration in it, as it does contain useful ideas and practical tips for human rights educators.

10 Benefits of Mother-Tongue Based Education

Kurdi Der, Amed/Diyarbakir (Bakur/Turkey)

One year has passed in Diyarbakir Ferzad Kemanger Elementary School which gives education in Kurdish. Mother tongue education made the learning process faster, course and workshop materials are shared in a communal mentality.

1. FASTER LEARNING

The learning process of students, who follow education in schools in their mother tongue, developed fast. The students learned reading and writing in Kurdish, started expressing themselves in writing as well in their mother tongue. Parents, students and teachers are satisfied by the progress that has been made.

2. FEAR FOR LANGUAGE DISAPPEARED

The fear for language and identity which is imposed in western Turkey has disappeared. A step is taken towards productivity with the education in Kurdish language. The school became the demonstration of productivity of success in education.

3. FEWER STUDENTS, MORE SUCCESS

In order to build strong relations between students and teachers, the classes never had more than 20 students. Thus the lessons were more productive.

4. DEMOCRATIC SCHOOL

An assembly system is applied at school. There are in total 10 people in the assembly, 8 teachers and 2 personnel. The school assembly elects the school administration. By the means of the assembly, superiority and authoritarian relations are precluded, a big step has been taken towards a democratic school.

5. PARENTS ARE PART OF EDUCATION

In order to include parents and plan a more active learning period, parent councils are formed. The members of school's parent councils may participate in school gatherings. Thanks to this, the parents are included in the learning process and thus have a voice for the future of their children.

6. INTERACTIVE LESSONS

There are 5 classrooms in the school. 4 of these are for first grade in elementary school, and one for a nursery class. Knowledge of life, reading and writing, physical training, painting and music classes are included in the curriculum. The classrooms are organized in an U-form in order to provide interactive education.

7. TEACHERS MAY BE CRITICISED

The teacher functions as a guide, not an authority. Violence at school is strictly forbidden, including the student dialogues. The self-confidence that the student will improve is very important, for instance the students may criticise the teacher. The teacher's absence in the classroom may be a subject of these critiques.

8. EDUCATION IN PRACTICE

Every day, during the Knowledge of Life classes, the students of one class cleaned the garden with the teacher, collected the trash, watered the trees, learned how to respect the nature and environment.

9. COLOURFUL SCHOOL

The school is painted with different colours, so as to appeal to students.

10. COMMUNAL SOCIETY

This school which gives mother-tongue based education, bears a mentality of an alternative system and aims for a communal life. Students work in groups at school. Course materials such as pencil, eraser, paint, book and workshop materials are shared according to needs.

The educational system at Kurdi Der schools

Kurdi Der, Amed/Diyarbakir (Bakur/Turkey)

We have five different levels at Kurdî-der Amed. The beginner, first, second, third and the last level is the teacher pedagogy level. In the beginner level we use a beginner book either by Eşref Keydanî or “gav bi gav Kurmanci”. At the first, second and third level we use the book “Hînkêr” as well as Zazaki as second dialect study book, and at the last level we teach Advanced Grammar, Folklore, Pedagogy, History related to Kurdish and its dialects. After each level, there is a level passing exam system so that we can see the level of our students if they lack any subject or not.

The way we teach Kurdish is based on a teacher and the book “Hînkêr”. The teacher is the facilitator and in a way directing actor during the class; s/he decides what to do during the class in accordance with the level and necessity of the students in terms of vocabulary, grammar, cultural aspects, reading, writing, speaking and listening activities. The teaching stuff might change according to the level.

To name the methodology, in some cases, according to the level, we use Grammar-Translation Method for our students so they can learn grammar and orthography at each level in a correct way, which we regard as the cornerstone of the language. Through teaching grammar we can come across the other problematic areas of language teaching and easily compare the regional differences in usage, morphology, syntax, semantics and learner’s autonomy as well. In order to make sure they have grasped the basic meaning, we make sentence and paragraph translations as well. In the book “Hînkêr” there is a great deal of exercises related to the grammar structure being taught. Some of them are studied, analyzed and focused during the class and the rest is given as homework. The songs, the reading passages, the grammar boxes in the book are also used for making the learning process better and easier. The teacher, surely, is allowed to do any kind of activity related to his/her teaching. Moreover, we cannot say the only method we use is just Grammar-Translation Method. For students who cannot speak any level of Kurdish, we prefer to use Communicative Approach or Direct Method in order to teach them the language quickly in contexts such as dialogues and comprehension passages. When students see they can express themselves in each class, their willingness will increase. As known very well, motivating the unmotivated students has been a prime issue for a very long time. In such classes, teaching vocabulary, word collocations and expressions have great effect on them.

In upper and advanced levels, we prefer to teach to a necessary point rather than a general skill. To do that, many teachers are expected to use many materials as well as the book. If we are required to name it, it can be named as “eclectic or integrated method” by which the teacher can combine many activities to make the teaching level active and student-centred.

KURMANCÎ

Komela me komeleyeke fermî ye. Gorî kanûnên Turkiyeyê hatiye damezrandin. Navê wê bi kurtî “Kurdî Der e” Yê dirêj “Komeleya Lêkolîn û Pêşvebirina Zimanê Kurdî ye” Di 25 ê Tebaxa 2006 an de hatiye damezrandin. Mebesta komelê, wek hemû sazî û dezgeyên zimên, li ser zêmên xebatên lêkolîn û lêgerînên zanistî dike. Xebatên termên elfabeyê, axaftin, nivisîn, vegotin, rêziman, rastnivîs, wergera zanista posîtîf û hwd bi encam dike. Zimanê Kurdî, ji bişaftin û xwe bişaftinê diparêze. Pêşvebirina hemû zaravayên Kurdî esas digire. Di vî warî de bi sazî û dezgeyên demokratîk re xebatên hevpar dike. Di qada zimên de xebatên hişmendiye jî dike.. Bilî kurs û xebatê atolyeyan, xebatên hişmendiye jî dike. Panel, semîner, komcivîn, bernameyên TV’nan, daxwiyaniyên çapemeniyê û şahiyên jî lidar dixê. Wekî din, belavok, afîş, pankart, û duwîzan, ji bo balê bikişînin mijara ziman û çandê dadiliqînin. Xebatên komelê li ser bingeha dildarî û dilsozî dimeşe. Herkes bîla menfeat dixebite. Mamostê fermî danek tê mamostetiyê dike. Yên malnişîn gorî dem û derfetên xwe dixebitin. Hatina aborî ji aîdat û bexşên endaman tê. Dewlet ti carî ji aliyê aborî û herwekî din de alîkarî nadiyê.

Li komelê em perwerdehiyê di pênc astên cûda de didin: Asta destpêkê, ya ewil, duduyan, sîsêyan û asta mamostetiyê. Di destpêkê de am an pirtûka mamosteyê me Eşref Keydanî yan jî “Gav bi gav Kurdî” bi kar tînin. Ji bilî kurmancî em perwerdehiya zaravaya Zazakî jî didin. Di asta mamostetiyê de jî em dersê rêziman, folklor, formasyona hînkirinê, dîrok û zaravaya zazakî didin. Piştî her astê, em ezmûnek pêk tînin. Bi saya ezmûnê em kêmasiyên xwendekarên xwe jî dibînin. Kesên ku ezmûnê derbas nekin nikarin derbasî pola didin bibin.

Rêbaza hînkirina me girêdayî mamoste û pirtûka “Hînkerê” ye. Mamoste di hînkirinê de rola hêsaneriyê dilîze û bi awayekî de pêvajoya dersê de rê dide ber xwendekaran. Mamoste di dersê de li gorî pewistiyên xwendekaran çalakiyan pêk tîne û çalakiyên peyv, rêziman, hêmanên çandî, xwendina deqan, nivîs, axaftin û guhdarîkirinê pêk tîne. Helbet, materyalên dersan li gorî asta xwendekaran tê guhartin.

Wekî metodolojî, di hin deman de, rêbaza ku pêk tê y Rêziman-Werger e. Di bikaranîna vê rêbazê de, hînkirina rêzimanê û wergera hevok û deqan ji bona hînkirina rêzimanê baş bi kar tê. Di pêvajoya hînkirinê de xwendekar rastî gelek pîrsgirêkên rêzimanê dibin ji ber ku kurmancî wekî zimanê perwerdehî bi awayek yekgirtî nehatiye bikaranîn. Cûdahî gelemperî di morfolojî, sentaks, semantîk û otonomiya xwendekaran de derdikeve. Loma heya ku ji destê mamosteyan tê, rêziman û werger di astên navber de bi kar tên. Pirtûka “hînkerê” jî di nav xwe de gelek cure avasaziyên rêzimanê û hîndekariyan dihevine. Hinekê wan di dersê de tê dîtin û bersivandin, hinekî din jî wekî spartek tên dayîn. Mamoste di ware bikaranîn û hîlbijartina mînak û deqan de serbixwe ye. Herwiha, metoda bi kar tê ne tenê ev e. Ji bona xwendekarên ku qet nikarin bi kurmancî bi axivîn metoda ragehîner an jî dîrek tê bi kar anîn ku ew jî bi saya diyalog, deqan konteksê didin û kêrhatî ne. Gava xwendekar dibînin ku ew dikarin di dersan de bi gelemperî di dersên ewil de xwe îfade bikin, motîvasiyona zêde dibe. Wekî baş tê zanîn, armanca mamosteyan gelemperî motîvekirin xwendekarên ku motîvasiyona xwe wende kirine. Bi saya pey, grubên peyvan an jî rêzgirtina peyvan, ew dikarin gelek sûde jê bigirin.

Di astên bilind de, ji devîla metodekê em rê, rêbaz, stratejiyan gişê sûde digirin. Ji bilî pirtûka dersê, mamoste gelek materyalên çandî û folklorî jî bi kar tînin. Em dikarin vê nêzikatiyê

wekî eklektîk an jî entegre bi nav bikin. Ji ber ku mamoste gelek tiştan têkilhev dikin û kêmasiyên xwendekaran tesbît dikin, dawîyê jî perwerde didin.

ANADİLDE EĞİTİMİN ÖNÜNDEKİ ZORLUKLAR

Mevcut sistem anadilde eğitim hakkını zorlaştırıyor.

2002 yılında Türkiye'nin Avrupa birliğine girmek istemesiyle birlikte başlayan bir süreçte halk eğitim merkezlerine bağlı olarak Kürtçe kursları açıldı.

O dönemde, Kürtçe kursları, akıl dışı gerekçelerle engellenmeye çalışıldıysa da, bütün zorluklara rağmen kurslar açıldı. Bir halkın sadece kurslarla dilini öğrenmesi ve geliştirmesi mümkün değildi..

Uluslararası eğitimle ilgili sözleşmelerin tümünde, anadilde eğitim bir insan hakkıdır deniliyor. Buna göre Milli Eğitimin başta İlk okullarda olmak üzere bütün okullarda ana dilde eğitim vermesi gerekiyordu fakat kurslarla geçirilmeye çalışıldı.

Bu çerçevede, 2006 yılında,, Kürt Dili Araştırma ve Geliştirme Derneği (Kurdi Der), ihtiyaç üzerine, resmi olarak açıldı. Dil atölyeleri tarzında kurslar açarak üyelerine kurs vermeye başladı. Özellikle gençler arasında çok büyük bir ilgi gördü. Bunun üzerine bir çok il ve ilçelerde Kurdî Der şubeleri açıldı. Şu anda 35 in üzerinde şubeleri vardır ve aktif olarak faaliyetlerini yürütüyorlar. Ancak bir dilin öğretilmesi, böylesi atölyelerle sonuç almak mümkün değildir.

'DEVLETİN DAYATTIĞI SİSTEM ANADİL DE EĞİTİM KRİTERLERİNE UYMUYOR'

Kürt Halkı, Kurdi Der gibi çeşitli eğitim kurumlarından aldığı teknik destekle kendi okullarını açtılar. Önce Amed, Cizre ve Gever'de bir çok engellemeye rağmen okul açtılar. Daha sonra 10 dan fazla okul açmayı planladılar, ancak engellendi ve kapatıldı. Şu anda sadece iki okul açık 2. sınıf boyutuyla eğitim öğretime devam ediyor.

Özel okul statüsünde okullar açılabilir. Resmi okullarda seçmeli ders olarak da 5-6. sınıflarda öğrenilebilir. Bunlar da, bilimsel olarak, anadilde eğitimin temel kriterlerine uymuyor. Anadil eğitimi çocuk doğduktan sonra 0-6 yaş arasında kişilik gelişimi ile ortaya çıkıyor. Pedagojik olarak 6 yaşından sonra dilin sözlü kısmı tamamlandıktan sonra okuma ve yazma kısmına geçiliyor. Sistem ise ilkokuldan sonra seçmeli ders olarak alınabileceğini söylüyor. Üstelik bir çok okulda öğretmen yok diye bu hak da gasp ediliyor. Burada ulus devletin resmi dili anadil olarak öğretiliyor, çocuğun gerçek anadili unutturuluyor daha sonra da seçmeli ders olarak veriliyor.

Application of Kurdi Der at the European Court of Human Rights

TO THE REGISTRY OF THE EUROPEAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS,

Application No: 16714/16

In the name of the applicants Selma Irmak, Ali Erdemirci and Arin Zümrüt Karakoyun, on 26 March 2016, to your esteemed court;

Based on the European Convention on Human Rights;

Article 1: Obligation to respect Human Rights

Article 6: Right to a fair trial

Article 7: No punishment without law

Article 8: Right to respect for private and family life

Article 10: Freedom of expression

Article 13: Right to an effective remedy

Article 14: Prohibition of discrimination

Based on International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights;

Article 27 Protection of minorities;

Article 18 Freedom of thought, conscience and religion;

Article 4 Derogation from obligations in situation of exigencies;

Article 14 Right to a fair trial;

Article 26 Equality before the law;

Based on European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms as amended by protocol no 11, article 2

Based on Treaty of Lausanne;

Article 39/5 “adequate facilities shall be given to Turkish nationals of non-Turkish speech for the oral use of their own language” is regulated considering that there is an existent official language.

2) “adequate facilities”, refers **firstly to training and education.**

3) By “*Their own language*”, **the mother tongues of the parties are meant.**

4) Based on these, this subject is indisputable: I want to take my training and education in my mother tongue. It is not demanded “I want to be educated in a language that I learned later.”

6) Article 39/5, is the only example of the right for speaking a non-Turkish language in officialdoms even though only for oral use, within the Republic of Turkey. Besides, it is the only example which gives a “positive right” (a right other than what the majority has) to Turkish citizens who are not non-Muslims and whose mother tongue is other than Turkish.

Based on the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey;

Article 13 (Restriction of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms)

Article 25 (Everyone has the right to freedom of thought and opinion.)

Article 26 (Freedom of Expression and Dissemination of Thought)

Article 42 (Right and Duty of Training and Education)

Article 90 paragraph 6 (Ratification of International Treaties)

Based on these articles above, an application for interim injunction is made for reopening Ali Erel Educational Support House in Diyarbakır which conducts training and education activities. However, your esteemed court denied our demand for interim injunction on 31 March 2016.

Firstly, we renew our demand for interim injunction; the injunction should be adopted concerning the closing of Ali Erel Educational Support House (*which provides training and education in Kurdish*) by the act of Diyarbakır Governorate no. 79523240-405.01-E.1126219 dated 01.02.2016, in accordance with the rule 39 of the Rules of Court and by the European Court of Human Rights, considering the objective that it causes gross human rights violation, within the scope of the contract law. In accordance with the rule 40 of the Rules of Court concerning this objective, in a quick manner, after being informed by the head of the department, injunction should be adopted.

Because the Supreme Court denied our application by the determination no. 2016/5192 dated 13.04.2016, and there is no other way left within the terms of municipal law.

Furthermore, the injunction should be adopted considering that 63 students were not able to make use of their right of education during the second semester of 2016, and this caused an irreversible unjust treatment, they remained behind in their education comparing to other students at the same age, and as result they shall embark on life later; the violation of fundamental rights and freedoms and the ambiguity of the duration of decision making of the local court should be taken into consideration as well.

In accordance with the rule 41 of the Rules of the Court, considering the preclusion of right of training and education by herein closed case, and the violation of fundamental rights and freedoms by a long judicial process, this injunction should be prioritized and the decision should be made in a quick manner.

Besides, mother tongue based training and education is securitised as a natural right for all peoples and individuals, by universal law and associated international contracts. Furthermore, in an educational and pedagogical aspect, it is considered to have a crucial role for an efficient development of comparison, understanding, wording skills and mental activities of a child to

get mother tongue based training and education at least until the third grade of elementary education by related academicians and universities to this subject.

However, no education can be given in a language other than Turkish, based on the existing laws. By articles 24 and 90 of the Constitution, based on legal arrangements for right of education that occur in the international treaties and universal law, the demands concerning the use of right of education which is multilingual, multicultural, based on freedom of religion, with no assimilating policies in education, in mother tongue and obligatory, has become the need of 25 million Kurdish citizens who live in Turkey.

Within this framework, in accordance with the preliminary protocol signed on 30.09.2015 between the applicants and the Municipality of Kayapınar, the building which is used as Ali Erel Educational Support House (Ali Erel Eğitim Destek Evi) located at Kayapınar Huzurevleri District, 96th Street, is assigned to the clients in order to be used for training and education activities for five days a week, and started the 2015-2016 school year on 05.10.2015 as Ali Erel Primary School (Ali Erel İlkokulu).

The application is made by the applicants on 14.10.2015, its use as a place for training and education activities is approved by Diyarbakır Provincial National Education Directorate on 27.10.2015, although Diyarbakır Governorate has not responded to the application of the clients, by not precluding the conducted training and education activities, the governorate implicitly gave permission.

The families who consulted to the applicants describe themselves as Kurdish speaking individuals and they demand Kurdish education for their children as it is their mother tongue.

Approximately 25 million Kurdish citizens are known to live in Turkey. However, because their mother tongue Kurdish is not accepted as an official language, the mother tongue education is given at private education institutions. Diyarbakır Governorate implicitly approved the mother tongue training and education at Ali Erel Educational Support House on 14.10.2015. But for some reason, after 108 days, which makes approximately 4 months, the governorate decided to close it on account of the fact that the education activities are not permitted. By this decision on closing, many children are deprived from their right of mother tongue education and training.

As a result of the denial of our application no.2016/5192 on 13.04.2016 to the Supreme Court and the fact that all the ways of municipal laws are used up, **the need for making this application arose**. In this context, in order to put an end to the violation of fundamental rights and freedoms which resulted from the objective of the herein application, namely the closing of Ali Erel Educational Support House (*which gives education and training in Kurdish*) and the violation of right of education and violation of fundamental rights and freedom, we demand;

- 1- Firstly, the acceptance of the application which was made in the mother tongue of the applicants, in Kurdish
- 2- In accordance with rule 39 of the Rules of Court, adaptation of the injunction and thus reopening the Ali Erel Educational Support House which provides mother tongue training and education in Kurdish, and prioritization of the applicant herein and render a judgement.11.06.2016

Kind Regards,

Att. Erhan ÜRKÜT

PRECLUSIONS ON TRAINING AND EDUCATION IN MOTHER TONGUE

1) CONSTITUTION AND INTERNATIONAL TREATIES

The mother tongue, which colours a person's sociological identity, is an inseparable part of its personality.

A person thinks in its mother tongue, establishes the notions in this tongue. Mother tongue training and education makes learning easier for a person and brings success.

The article 42 of the constitution makes the elementary education obliged for all the citizens and gives place to the regulation which makes it free in public schools.

According to the social rule of law, the state must provide the opportunity of training and education to its citizens.

Without making any discrimination between its citizens, the state has to do it in a way by creating equality of opportunity.

The main banning provision on use of Kurdish, the mother tongue of Kurds, takes place in the article 42 of the constitution. With the last clause of this article ***“No language other than Turkish shall be thought as mother tongue to Turkish citizens at any institutions of training or education. Foreign languages to be taught in institutions of training and education and the rules to be followed by schools conducting training and education in a foreign language shall be determined by law. The provisions of international treaties are reserved.”*** The use of Kurdish in training and education is banned without being mentioned.

The article 90/5 of the constitution about the international treaties reads as this: ***“International agreements duly put into effect have the force of law.***

No appeal to the Constitutional Court shall be made with regard to these agreements, on the grounds that they are unconstitutional.

In the case of a conflict between international agreements, duly put into effect, concerning fundamental rights and freedoms and the laws due to differences in provisions on the same matter, the provisions of international agreements shall prevail.”

The protocol no. 1 article 2 of the European Convention on Human Rights, which regulates the right of education: **“No person shall be denied the right to education. In the exercise of any functions which it assumes in relation to education and to teaching, the State shall respect the right of parents to ensure such education and teaching in conformity with their own religious and philosophical convictions.”**

The articles 17, 29 and 30 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child is cited below.

“Article 17

States Parties recognize the important function performed by the mass media and shall ensure that the child has access to information and material from a diversity of national and international sources, especially those aimed at the promotion of his or her social, spiritual and moral well-being and physical and mental health. To this end, States Parties shall:

- a. Encourage the mass media to disseminate information and material of social and cultural benefit to the child and in accordance with the spirit of article 29;**
- b. Encourage international co-operation in the production, exchange and dissemination of such information and material from a diversity of cultural, national and international sources;**
- c. Encourage the production and dissemination of children's books;**
- d. Encourage the mass media to have particular regard to the linguistic needs of the child who belongs to a minority group or who is indigenous;**
- e. Encourage the development of the appropriate guidelines for the protection of the child from information and material injurious to his or her well-being, bearing in mind the provisions of articles 13 and 18.**

Article 29

States Parties agree that the education of the child shall be directed to:

- a. The development of the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential;**
- b. The development of respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms, and for the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations;**
- c. The development of respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values, for the national values of the country in which the child is living, the country from which he or she may originate, and for civilizations different from his or her own;**
- d. The preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes, and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin;**
- e. The development of respect for the natural environment.**

No part of the present article or article 28 shall be construed so as to interfere with the liberty of individuals and bodies to establish and direct educational institutions, subject always to the observance of the principle set forth in paragraph 1 of the present article and to the requirements that the education given in such institutions shall conform to such minimum standards as may be laid down by the State.

Article 30

In those States in which ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities or persons of indigenous origin exist, a child belonging to such a minority or who is indigenous

shall not be denied the right, in community with other members of his or her group, to enjoy his or her own culture, to profess and practice his or her own religion, or to use his or her own language.”

Because a reservation is applied by Turkey on these provisions related to the right of education in both conventions, these provisions are claimed to be inapplicable.

2) THE LAW ON FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING AND EDUCATION

(The law is changed on 3/8/2002 by the law no.4771, as the Law on the Learning and Education in Foreign Languages and Learning Languages other than Turkish.)

Even though a modification was applied in 2003 on the first sentence of the paragraph a, article 2 of law no. 2923, the prohibition and restriction on Kurdish language is maintained. In the paragraph in question, the statement *“No language other than Turkish shall be taught as mother tongue to Turkish citizens at any institution of training or education”* takes place. The regulation on article 42 of the constitution is exactly transferred here. In the case of changes in constitution or to be more correct, after making a new constitution, this regulation must be removed. Otherwise following amendment in this provision *“However, it is permitted to make available to Turkish citizens private classes for the teaching of languages and dialects that they use traditionally in their daily lives, in accordance with a regulation adopted by the Minister for National Education.”* and the amendment added on 2/3/2014 to law no. 6529 article 11 **“Within the scope of Law on Private Educational Institutions; private schools may be opened to educate and train in different languages and dialects which Turkish people use in their daily lives. The languages and dialects to be used in these educational institutions will be determined by the decision of Council of Ministers.”** will practically lose its meaning. Neither Kurdish is mentioned in this amendment, it is only stated with the terms **“different languages and dialects which Turkish people use in their daily lives”**. Apart from that, it is located within the scope of teaching foreign languages.

The real important issue is in the following paragraph b of this same amendment **“b) The lessons concerning Atatürkist Thought, History of Reforms in Turkish Republic and Atatürkism which teaches the principles and reforms of Atatürk, Turkish Language and Literature, History, Geography, Social Sciences, Religious Culture and Knowledge on Morals and other courses related to Turkish culture cannot be taught in a language other than Turkish language in institutions of elementary education, secondary education and mass education. The students shall not be given homework or research tasks in a language other than Turkish language.”**. This limitation invalidates the mother tongue education in private schools that will open based on the law on Private Education Institutions. Merely the lessons concerning maths and sciences can be taught in Kurdish.

3) BASIC LAW ON NATIONAL EDUCATION:

It is observed that the ideological load is intense in all the regulations concerning primary education. In the training and education system that these regulations foresee, it is impossible to raise creative and responsible individuals. These provisions are located in a variety of laws. One of these is the statement that takes place in the regulation on Basic Law of National Education, article 20 *“enabling the students to speak Turkish in a correct and beautiful way”*. A similar provision is found in the Regulation of Preschool Education Institutions, articles 6 and 7. The student vow in elementary schools, is far from being inclusive, its text is full of ideological loads. This vow that offends and excludes Kurdish children every day, has to be annulled.

By the law dated 30.03.2012 no. 6287, the clause is added: **“Institutions of primary education consist of compulsory elementary schools of four years, junior high schools or religious vocational (imam hatip) junior high schools of four years which give the possibility of preference between compulsory education and other programs. In junior high schools and religious vocational high schools, the optional lessons are composed which will support the high school education, according to the skills, developments and preferences of the students. In junior high schools and high schools the lessons concerning Kur’an-ı Kerim and the Life of Our Prophet are taught as optional lesson. Other optional lessons that are taught in these schools and the programme options for religious vocational junior high schools and other junior high schools are determined by the Ministry.”** In contrast to the provision that made Kurdish an optional lesson, because it isn’t included in this law text, it is in the initiative of the Ministry of National Education. This means that for the continuation or cancellation of Kurdish lessons, a decision of the Ministry will suffice instead of a change in the law. It is merely an optional lesson that is guaranteed by ministerial order.

4) THE LAW ON PRIVATE EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS

Because the law on foreign language training and education is regulated according to the law on private education institutions, it is recommended to take a look at the regulation on the law in question.

In article 1 of the Law on Private Education Institutions, dated 8/2/2007, no. 5580, the aim is described as follows: **“Aim and scope ARTICLE 1 – The aim of this law, is to grant permission to natural persons who are citizens of the Republic of Turkey, legal persons, or legal persons governed by private law, for opening private education institutions; to regulate the rules and procedures concerning opening and transferring of an institution, employment of personnel, financial support to the institutions, and training-education, administration, supervision and monitoring; and to regulate the rules and procedures of these institutions which are opened by foreigners, concerning training-education, administration, supervision, monitoring and employment of personnel.**

This law includes the private education institutions that are opened by natural persons, legal persons or legal persons governed by private law and the private education institutions that are opened by foreigners.”

“Permission for opening an institution

ARTICLE 3 – It is obligatory to obtain the permission for opening an institution, to start the education in an institution. The permission requests are made to the national education directory.

As result of a research made by the governorate, the institutions are granted with a permission for opening an institution except for the schools that are deemed suitable.

The requests concerning the schools that are deemed suitable by the governorate are sent to the ministry in order to be granted with a permission for opening an institution.

In case of refusal of the permission request for opening an institution, the founder or the delegate may file a notice of objection to the ministry within fifteen working days after the notification concerning the refusal of their request.

Within fifteen working days, a decision is made by the ministry concerning the objection.

Without obtaining the permission for opening an institution, no student registration may be accepted by the institution.

The permission for opening an institution is granted depending on the intended use of the building and its adequacy according to the standards determined by the ministry, besides the fulfilment of the following conditions:

- a) Determination of the adequacy of course material by a report, according to the aims and needs of the institution.**
- b) Approval of the director, teacher and other personnel of the institution qualitatively and quantitatively and certification of the personnel who shall work in this institution.**
- c) Approval of the regulations and curriculum of the institution by the ministry. (Amended fifth paragraph: 1/3/2014, art. 6528/10) Permissions for opening an institution which are granted to elementary schools, junior high schools, high schools and private education schools within the scope of this law after September 1st, are valid from the next school year onwards.**

Rules concerning the naming of the institutions are determined by regulations.

The activities within the scope of the Law except for the in-service training activities shall not be done by natural and legal persons, without being granted the permission for opening an institution by the competent authorities under this Law.

Private education institutions same as or similar to military schools, police vocational schools and religious training and education schools may not be opened.

(Additional paragraph: 25/11/2010, art. 6082/19) Permissions and licences specified in Law on Metropolitan Municipalities, dated 10/07/2004 no. 5216 article 7(d), Municipal Law dated 3/7/2005 no. 5393 article 15 paragraph 1(c) and Law on Special Provincial Administration dated 22/2/2005 no. 5393 article 7 paragraph 1(d) do not include the private education institutions under this Law. Licence for opening business and working is given by the ministry with the condition that it is in accordance with the legislation on private education institutions. Ministry can transfer this authority to governorates.

(Additional paragraph: 1/3/2014, art. 6528/10) Under whatever name, the activities that are conducted in order to offer training and education are subjected to the permission and inspection of the Ministry. The ones who conduct these activities are obliged to follow the rules provided in this Law, for the private education institutions.”

Only the natural persons who are the citizens of the Republic of Turkey and legal persons may open private education institutions. It means that public institutions may not open private education institutions. In this aspect, local governments may not open private education institutions that give Kurdish education.

Besides, permission for opening a private education institution is made very strict, being regulated very detailed by instructions. While elementary education is obligatory by the Constitution, the state wants the Kurds to go to private institutions and pay for their education.

OTHER RESTRICTIONS CONCERNING LANGUAGE:

1) LAW ON PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION, no. 5442:

About the solution of the “Kurdish Problem”, the first modification that comes to mind is the subject of restoring the names of the settlements and geographical areas in the region, which were renamed.

The law on provincial administration no. 5442, by the amendment dated 11.05.1959 law no. 7267, the paragraph that contains the following provision is added to its article 2: ***“However; village names that are not Turkish and give rise to confusion are to be changed in the shortest possible time by the Interior Ministry after receiving the opinion of the Provincial Permanent Committee.”*** This provision is annulled by the law no. 6529, dated 2/3/2014. However, as per this article which was practised during 55 years, almost all the settlements and geographical areas are renamed. There has been no regulation whatsoever about how to give the old names back, thus this subject remains ambiguous.

2) SURNAME LAW:

Except for the newly-naturalized citizens, taking a new surname is out of question, besides, in case of asking to change the existing surname legally with a new one, the regulation in the surname law dated 21 June 1934, no.2525 article 3 is written in a way which may prohibit taking Kurdish surnames: **“Names which are related to military rank and officialdom, to tribes and foreign races and ethnicities; as well as surnames that were not suited to customs or which are disgusting or ridiculous shall not be used.”** It is also interpreted and practised in this way.

3) SURNAME REGULATION

Surname regulation dated 1934 has seen many modifications within years. The latest extensive modification is applied by the cabinet decision dated 25.03.2009. This modification came into force after being published in Official Gazette No. 27214. However extensive this regulation is, the provision ***“New surnames have to be taken from the Turkish language”*** in article 5 is preserved. Because of this provision, it is not possible to take a Kurdish surname, which is not from Turkish language.

Article 7 of Surname Regulation has the provision ***“Names of foreign races and ethnicities shall not be used as surnames.”***, article 8 ***“Surnames which show relations with a tribe or a clan shall not be used or re-used.”***. Because of these regulations, it is impossible to use the names by which families are known with surnames.

4) LAW NO. 1353 AND THE LETTER ISSUE

The article 2 of the Law on the Adoption and Implementation of the Turkish Alphabet no. 1353, which includes the regulation ***“From the date of the publishing of this law onwards, all state institutions and private societies must use the new Turkish alphabet in all their activities.”*** and the article 4 which obligates the newspapers, magazines and books to use the Turkish letters for printing and writing activities is still in force.

Besides, while this law has no criminal sanction in its own, it was connected with criminal sanction for illegal act by article 222 of the Turkish Criminal Law no. 5237. The sentence is annulled by the law no. 6529 dated 2/3/2014. However, the prohibition for the use of letters from Kurdish alphabet which do not occur in Turkish alphabet in official correspondences, still continues. For example, the name Bawer has to be registered as Baver, and the name Jêhat as Jehat.

What needs to be done to solve this issue, is not adding these letters to Turkish alphabet. The solution is to annul the regulations that prohibit the use of the letters which do not occur in Turkish alphabet.

Examples of activities on Human Rights Education from the manual Compass

'Compass: Manual for Human Rights Education with Young people' was published in 2002 within the framework of the Human Rights Education Youth Programme of the Directorate of Youth and Sport of the Council of Europe. The manual of Compass, which can be downloaded in English on <http://www.coe.int/en/web/compass/home> contains games on topics such as democracy, human rights, children's rights, education, environment, equal rights for women and men (gender), press freedom and freedom of expression, urbanisation, labour, violence and discrimination and many more. From which we chose following examples.

Act it out

Show me what you mean by "human rights"!

- Theme  [General Human Rights](#)
- Theme  [Children](#)
- Theme  [Citizenship and Participation](#)
- Complexity  Level 2
- Group Size  9+ (small groups 4-5)
- Time  90 minutes

Overview

Through this drama activity participants present their perceptions of the general concept of human rights.

Related rights

- All human rights

Objectives

- To explore the general idea or concept of human rights
- To develop intercultural and communication skills
- To develop co-operation and creativity

Materials

- Props: dressing-up clothes, toys, household items, etc.
- Paper and coloured markers, crayons
- Glue, string and card

Key Date

- 10 December Human Rights Day



Instructions

1. Explain that the purpose of the exercise is to come up with a dramatic representation of the general idea or concept of human rights that is understandable to people of different cultures, and who may speak different languages.
2. Explain that they will not be allowed to use words at all: this must be a mimed presentation. However, groups may make use of some of the materials or props, if they wish.
3. Ask people to get into small groups of between 4 and 6 people, and give each group a large sheet of paper and a set of crayons / markers.
4. Give the groups 10 minutes first to brainstorm all their ideas about human rights and then to identify two or three key ideas that they would like bring out most strongly in the mime.
5. Now give the groups 30 minutes to design and rehearse their mime. Explain that this must be a group effort and everyone should have a role in the production.
6. After 30 minutes are up, gather the groups together so that everyone can watch each other's performances.
7. Give a few minutes after each performance for feedback and discussion.
8. Ask the spectators to offer their interpretations of what they have just seen, and to try to identify the key ideas that the performance attempted to portray.
9. Then give the group itself a chance to explain briefly any points that did not emerge during the feedback. Repeat this for each of the performances.



Debriefing and evaluation

Start by reviewing the activity itself and then go on to what they have learnt about human rights.

- How did people feel about this activity? Was it more or less difficult than they had first imagined? What were the most difficult aspects, or the most difficult things to represent?
- Did people learn anything new about human rights? Were they surprised that they actually knew more than they thought they did?
- Were there similarities and differences in the different presentations?
- Were there any fundamental disagreements over the idea of human rights within the group? How were these resolved?
- Based on the presentations, what do participants think are the most important and shared characteristics of human rights?



Tips for facilitators

Unless people are entirely ignorant about the concept of human rights, it is more interesting to carry out this activity with a minimum of initial guidance from a facilitator. The main purpose is to draw out the impressions and knowledge about human rights that young people have already picked up in the course of their lives. It is worth emphasising this point to the group before they begin work, so that they do not feel constrained by not "knowing" exactly what human rights are.

Make it clear to participants that their task is to portray "human rights in general", rather than to illustrate one or more specific human rights. They may decide to take one specific right to bring out general points, but they should remember that they are attempting to show what is common to the different human rights. At the end of the session spectators should be able to (or begin to!) answer the question, "what are human rights?"

Do not let those who feel they are weak at acting fail to play an active part! Explain that there are plenty of roles for all, and that this must be something that the whole group feels happy about presenting. A few unusual props may bring the performances to life and help spark creative ideas – anything from saucepans, toy cars, hats, pillows, stones, a dustbin lid...

If you absolutely have to give the groups some hints in order to get them started, or at the end of the discussion, then you could get them thinking about the following:

- Human rights are the rights a person has simply because he or she is a human being; everyone has equal rights.
- Human rights are held by all persons equally, universally, and forever.
- Human rights are indivisible and interdependent: you cannot be denied a right because it is "less important" or "non-essential".
- Human rights are the basic standards without which people cannot live in dignity.



Variations



If participants find it difficult to mime, you can ask them to make collective "statues" instead. If the facilitator then takes photographs, you can make a collection of "collective images" and use them on another occasion as a starter for discussion or in an exhibition.

Alternatively, you can do this activity as a drawing exercise: get the groups to make a poster – again without using words – to express the main ideas about human rights. Then make an exhibition of the different posters.

If you want the groups to focus on certain concepts, you can cut out stages 3 and 4 of the instructions and give the small groups key words, for instance, equality, peace, poverty and solidarity. By giving different words to each small group you cover more concepts; by giving the same word to each small group you get an interesting diversity of expression.

The activity could also be carried out less as an introductory one, and more in order to organise and clarify thoughts once people have already worked through some of the other activities in the manual, or carried out their own research.



Suggestions for follow-up



Look at plays or other literature with a human rights theme, and organise a dramatic performance for members of your local community.

To continue working on human rights in general, you could do the activity "[Flowerpower](#)". Alternatively, if the group would like to move on and look at some specific human rights, why not look at the Convention of the Rights of the Child through the activity "[Children's Rights](#)".

Another way to follow up the activity could be for participants to write short letters about what the concept of human rights means to them. See the [activity "Dear friend"](#) in the All Different – All Equal Education Pack. The aim of the letter writing would be to help participants to clarify their ideas, to provoke a reply and to develop a dialogue. Thus the letters could be sent to people within the group, or they could be used in an inter-school or inter-youth group exercise. In DOmino, section 4, there are "[Stories told by young people](#)", which could be used as a basis for discussion about the relevance of human rights to every day life.



Ideas for action 

You could develop your mimes or make a whole group production and perform it to other people outside the group. If you did the poster-making or the "collective images" variation, make an exhibition of your posters or photographs. Both ideas could be used to celebrate Human Rights Day.

You could also video the performances of the mimes and post them on video sharing Internet sites.

Fighters for rights

It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.

Nelson Mandela



- Theme [General Human Rights](#)



- Theme [Media](#)



- Theme [Citizenship and Participation](#)



- Complexity Level 2



- Group Size Any (small groups: 3-4)



- Time 60 minutes

Overview

This activity uses information cards to stimulate interest in human rights heroes. The issues to be discussed include:

- Political repression
- Human rights activists in the twentieth century
- The struggle for rights in various countries

Related rights

- Freedom of opinion and expression
- The right to equality before the law and the right to a fair trial
- Freedom from torture and degrading treatment

Objectives

- To learn about some of the individuals who have fought for human rights in different countries
- To develop skills of handling and ordering information, co-operation and group work
- To promote respect, responsibility and curiosity about human rights

Materials

- One set of the 30 cards per small group
- Scissors
- Envelopes
- Optional: glue and pieces of stiff paper for backing the cards

Preparation

- Arrange the room so that people can work in small groups
- Make copies of the [cards](#) so that you have one set for each small group.
- Cut up each set of thirty cards, shuffle them so that they are not in sequence, and put them in envelopes. It is important to keep the sets separate from each other!

Key Date

- 10 December Human Rights Day



Instructions

1. Ask participants to get into small groups of 3 or 4 people. Hand out one set of cards to each group.
2. Ask them to spread the cards out, face down on the floor.
3. Explain that the cards describe events in the life of six human rights activists. The aim for each group is to match the events with the correct character, and thereby to build up a brief

- description of each person.
4. Explain that each of the characters is made up of a "set of five" (i.e. one 'A', one 'B', one 'C', one 'D' and one 'E' card).
 5. Tell each group to do rounds of picking up one card at a time, until the cards run out.
 6. Give people a few minutes to read their own cards in silence.
 7. Then let them go... Allow each group to devise their own strategies for building up the personalities. They will need about 15 - 20 minutes for this stage.
 8. Gather everyone together, and ask a representative from one group to introduce, in their own words, one of the personalities. Then repeat with the other groups in turn, so each personality is presented in full, and each group can check that they put the "pieces" together correctly.



Debriefing and evaluation

1. How easy was the exercise, and which strategies did the different groups use to sort the sets of cards?
2. Which of the characters had people already heard of, and which of them were new? Why do they think they had not heard of some of the personalities before, while others are very well known?
3. Were people surprised by any of the information? What did they find most shocking, or most impressive?
4. Ask people to select the quotation with which they most strongly identify: how do they think they would have behaved if they had been put in the same position as this person?
5. Which human rights in particular were the different "fighters" claiming?
6. Is "heroism" an inappropriate course of action for defending human rights? What actions are available to people who are the victims of human rights violations?



Tips for facilitators

There is a substantial amount of information available on each of these characters and the short biographies that have been supplied offer a very shallow (and subjective) perspective on the matter. There are also hundreds of other human rights activists who could just as well have gone onto the list. See <http://www.universalrights.net/heroes/>

If you choose to use the examples in Compass but think that the personalities may seem remote from the young people you are working with, then you may want to start with a short introductory activity. Get pictures of four or five UN celebrity ambassadors, who are well known in your country, stick the portraits on large pieces of paper and put them on a wall. Ask members of the group to name them and to say what they are doing as UN ambassadors.

It is also worth noting that people should certainly not feel "pressurised" in any way to take the type of stand that these activists have taken. There are many ways of fighting for human rights, and different individuals will select different paths according to their beliefs and abilities, for instance, working through existing NGOs, or organising petitions or direct lobbying.



Variations

Give each small group a blank card and ask them to write a short biography of a fighter for rights of their own choosing. Then ask the groups to swap the cards and to guess each other's "fighter". If you do this variation, be prepared for surprises as the fighters may include celebrities and pop stars. You should accept all suggestions and place the emphasis on what the people have achieved or fought for. Inviting other participants to comment may be a good approach in case you do not agree with a given personality's record on human rights.



Suggestions for follow-up

It is highly recommended that you try to follow up this activity by encouraging people to find out about other human rights activists, so that they develop a feel for the characters who throughout history have contributed to the struggle for human rights. The group could start to build up its own "portrait gallery" of human rights activists. The six given in this activity can be used as a starting point: the photographs can be stuck to pieces of card together with the quotations and the short biographies, and displayed about the room. Each member of the group could be asked to find out about other personalities and to add them to the portrait gallery. The six that have been introduced here are all campaigners in the area of civil and political rights, but you may want to extend the range of rights to include social and economic ones as well. Chico Mendes would be an example.

In civil society there are several channels for expressing opinion and fighting for rights. If you want to take a closer look at these you could do the activity, ["Making links"](#).

You might now want to think about situations in which you might have to stand up for your own rights. If so, then the role play "Guess who's coming to dinner" in the Education Pack All Different – All Equal sets the scene for exploring what could happen if you brought an "unsuitable" boy-/girlfriend home to meet your parents.



Ideas for action

Find out about some of the current political prisoners or activists – for example, those that Amnesty International has labelled a "Prisoner of Conscience". Write a letter or organise a campaign to inform people about this prisoner, and to put pressure on the relevant individuals to release him or her.



Further information 

The UK Section of Amnesty International have produced their own historical wall chart of human rights defenders, which can be ordered through their website:
<http://www.amnesty.org.uk>


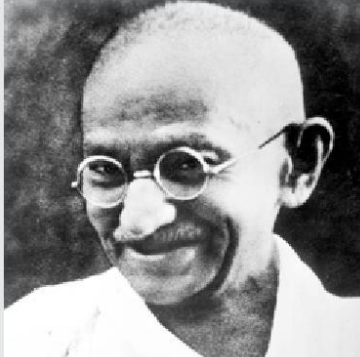
COMPASS



Fighters for rights

Handouts

Discussion cards

<p>A</p> <p>"I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."</p> <p>Nelson Mandela</p>	<p>A</p> <p>"As a result of certain painful but at the same time comforting encounters, I saw for myself how from the depths of moral savagery there suddenly arose the cry "it's my fault" and how, with this cry, the patient recovered the right to call himself a human being."</p> <p>Evgenia Ginzberg</p>
<p>B</p> <p>Born in a village near Umtata, and was elected President of the Republic of South Africa in the first democratic elections in that country at the age of 76. Up to that point – and beyond – his/her life was devoted to</p>	<p>B</p> <p>Born in 1906 in Russia and died in Moscow in 1977. Worked quietly as a teacher and journalist until branded a terrorist by the Stalin regime in a fabricated trial. Spent 18 years in</p>
<p>C</p> <p>the fight against apartheid, the racist system used by the former white government to suppress the majority black population. S/he suffered various forms of repression: was banned from meetings, forced to go into hiding, and was finally</p>	<p>C</p> <p>Siberian prison camps under horrifying conditions because s/he refused to accuse others of crimes they did not commit. Spent the first year in solitary confinement in a damp cell, forbidden to exercise, speak, sing or lie down in the day. Later on s/he was</p>
<p>D</p> <p>arrested, and sentenced to life imprisonment at the age of 44. S/he spent the next 28 years of his/her life behind bars, away from his/her family and children.</p>	<p>D</p> <p>sent from one to another of the Siberian labour camps – including, as a punishment for helping a fellow prisoner, the very worst, from which few returned alive.</p>
	

<p>A</p> <p>"I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal." I have a dream that my four children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the colour of their skin but by the content of their character."</p> <p>Martin Luther King</p>	<p>A</p> <p>"Non-violence is the greatest force at the disposal of mankind. It is mightier than the mightiest weapon of destruction devised by the ingenuity of man."</p> <p>Mahatma Gandhi</p>
<p>B</p> <p>Born in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1929, when the law required blacks to occupy special seats in buses, theatres and cinemas, and to drink from separate water fountains from whites. When s/he was 28, co-founded</p>	<p>B</p> <p>Born in 1869, to Hindu parents who lived in Gujarat, when India was still held by force in the British Empire. S/he led the struggle for Independence, never straying from his/her firm belief in</p>
<p>C</p> <p>an organisation of black churches that encouraged non-violent marches, demonstrations and boycotts against racial segregation. The organisation participated in a protest in Birmingham, Alabama, at which hundreds of singing school children</p>	<p>C</p> <p>non-violent protest and religious tolerance, despite being arrested and imprisoned on several occasions. When Indians acted violently against one another, or against the British Raj, s/he fasted until the violence ended. S/he led a 241 mile march across India, and</p>
<p>D</p> <p>filled the streets in support. The police were ordered in with attack dogs and firemen with high-pressure hoses. S/he was arrested and jailed.</p>	<p>D</p> <p>persuaded followers to accept the brutality of the police and soldiers without retaliation. S/he spent a total of 2338 days in jail in a life tirelessly devoted to peace.</p>
	

<p>A</p> <p>"We're not trying to destroy or annihilate the military regime; they are always threatening to annihilate us but ... the purpose of our movement is to create a society that offers security to all our people, including the military!"</p> <p>Daw Aung San Suu Kyi</p>	<p>A</p> <p>"Alas, this sad song in my mind I send to those who help prisoners. These feelings in this dark season – I will never forget the horrible tortures. May this present misery in prison never be inflicted on any sentient being!"</p> <p>Ngawang Sangdrol</p>
<p>B</p> <p>Born in 1945, in Burma, s/he was the child of the assassinated national hero in the struggle for independence from colonial rule. Became a popular leader of the struggle for democracy against</p>	<p>B</p> <p>is a Buddhist nun who believes Tibet should be independent from China, and who was arrested for the first time at the age of 10 by Chinese authorities. His/her only crime was to participate in</p>
<p>C</p> <p>a cruel military regime and was nearly assassinated by an army unit ordered to aim their rifles at him/her. Was placed under house arrest for 6 years without being charged with any crime, and was effectively cut off from the outside world. Even when released, the government</p>	<p>C</p> <p>a peaceful demonstration for the independence of Tibet. Was arrested again at the age of 15, and sentenced to 3 years imprisonment. The sentence was extended first because s/he sang an independence song in prison; and then again for 8 years because s/he</p>
<p>D</p> <p>prevented him/her from seeing his/her dying spouse. In 1991 he/she was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. On 13 November 2010 s/he was released from house arrest.</p>	<p>D</p> <p>shouted "Free Tibet" while standing in the rain in the prison yard. Today s/he has problems with her kidneys as a result of the torture s/he has suffered.</p>
	

Path to Equality-land

The obstacle is the path.

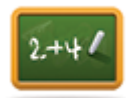
Zen proverb



- Theme [Gender](#)



- Theme [Discrimination and Intolerance](#)



- Theme [Education](#)



- Complexity Level 4



- Group Size 4+



- Time 120 minutes

Overview

This activity involves small group work, imagination, and drawing to explore issues of gender equality and discrimination against women.

Related rights

- Freedom from discrimination on grounds of sex and gender
- The right to marriage and family
- The right to equality before the law

Objectives

- To envisage a future world where equality is the norm
- To develop communication, imagination, creativity and skills to co-operate
- To promote justice and respect

Materials

- 2 large sheets of paper (A3 size) or flipchart paper per small group
- Marker pens of different colours, enough for all small groups
- A map, preferably a hiking map or any other sort of map that shows physical features, for instance, mountains, valleys, rivers, forests, villages, bridges, etc.

Preparation

- Familiarise yourself with the map and the symbols used.

Key Date

- 8 March International Women's Day
- 3 November World Men's Day



Instructions

Part 1. Defining the problems and brainstorming solutions. 15 minutes.

1. Ask people to get into small groups of three to five people. Hand out one sheet of paper and the pens to each group. Tell them to draw 3 columns of equal width down the paper.
2. Remind people that in Equality-land, there is complete gender equality. Ask participants to brainstorm concrete examples of what this country would be like. One person in the group notes down the list in the first column.
3. Now ask the groups to think about how life is today, to reflect on each point in column 1 and to discuss what steps need to be taken to get from the present to their future Equality-land. In the second column, write the steps down beside each point.
4. Next, ask people to reflect on the obstacles they might encounter on the path to Equality-land and how they would overcome them. Write these down in the third column.

Part 2. Drawing the map. 40 minutes.

1. Briefly review what a map looks like. Point out the ways that contours are drawn, the shading for mountains and rivers and the symbols that are used for forests, moor land, buildings, power cables, and so on.
2. Now introduce the idea of other symbols. Ask participants if they know of any folk tales or other stories that use the metaphor of a person going on a journey to present moral ideals. Talk about the way a dark forest, for instance, may be used as a metaphor for evil or a red, rosy apple used to represent temptation. The traveller may show moral strength swimming across a fast flowing river or humility helping a distressed animal.
3. Hand out a second large sheet of paper to each group. Ask each group to make their own fantasy map to represent the landscapes of the present and the future with a path or paths running between them. They should make up their own symbols for the geographical features and for

the obstacles that will either hinder or help the traveller as he and she journeys along the path from the present to Equality-land.

4. Bring everyone back into plenary and ask participants to share their maps.



Debriefing and evaluation

Start with a discussion about the way the different groups worked together and how they made decisions about what to represent and about the way they drew the map. Then go on to talk about what Equality-land might look like in reality, and the obstacles to reaching it.

- Did people enjoy the activity? Why?
- Which was the easiest and which was the hardest column to fill in? Why?
- What were the main features of Equality-land?
- What needs to change in order to build a society where there is gender equality?
- In relation to the right not to be discriminated against, can policies of positive discrimination be justified as short-term measures to boost gender equality?
- If you had to rate your country amongst all the countries of the world for equality of opportunity for both men and women, how would you rate it on a scale of 1 to 10? 1 is very unequal, 10 is almost ideal equality.
- Why is it so important to focus on women's human rights?
- Apart from women, which other groups are discriminated against in your society? How is this manifested? Which human rights are being violated?
- How can disadvantaged groups be empowered to claim their rights?
- What role has education to play in empowerment?
- What role has human rights education to play in empowerment?



Tips for facilitators

Ensure that the groups think of concrete examples of how life in Equality-land could be. Try to get the groups to come up with their own examples, but if this is difficult you can suggest they think about the number of women in parliament, the number of women at the top of business, differences in income, the number of hours that men and women work in a day and how they spend their leisure time, sharing domestic chores, the numbers of part-time workers, domestic violence, harassment at school and at work or how men and women are portrayed in the media.

Don't over emphasise the need for symbols because metaphorical ideas are not easy for some people. If participants get stuck thinking about how to picture their ideas, you could start them off by suggesting a woman uses a bridge of education to go over a river of prejudice against women who want to be a lawyer, or a man could find a jewel of satisfaction through working as a nursery teacher, looking after very small children. Of course you will have to think of examples of gender stereotyping that reflect the reality in your society.



Variations

The groups could make models of the landscape using "junk". In this case, you will need to have a good collection of small boxes, tubs, tubes, paper, stones, nuts, bits of string and wool, paper clips, etc and also glue and card for the bases for the models.

The method of drawing a map from the present to the future can be adapted to most issues where you want participants to think freely and imaginatively about finding solutions to problems.



Suggestions for follow-up

Having spent time thinking about gender equality now and in the future, the group may like to use the method used in the activity "[Timelines](#)" to "look back" at famous women; encourage them to explore how the concept and practice of gender equality has changed through history. Search on the Internet for "timeline famous women".

Alternatively, you may like to explore issues about discrimination and the right to cultural identity within the context of sustainable development in the activity "[Makah whaling](#)".



Ideas for action

Look at your own school, club or workplace policies about equal opportunities in relation to gender and discuss how the policies are implemented and whether or not any changes or extra efforts need to be made to bring your institution to the status of Equality-land. Put "arguments for parity democracy" into a search engine to find the link to the very practical European Women's Lobby (EWL) lobbying and action kit. You can also find out more about women in politics on www.iknowpolitics.org.



Further information

The concept behind this activity is that of "Empowerment". Empowerment is difficult to translate and sometimes also difficult to explain, even in English! "Empowerment" is both the means and the outcome of the pedagogy that some people call "Liberatory" education. One definition of 'empowerment' from Oxfam is: Empowerment involves challenging the forms of

oppression, which compel millions of people to play a part in their society on terms that are unequal, or in ways which deny their human rights.

Mother Tongue Multilevel Kurdish Education in Northern Kurdistan⁴² - Olga Sewiło⁴³, Oskar Podlasiński⁴⁴

Jagiellonian University in Krakow (Poland)

Abstract

The recent development of Kurdish language education as well as intensified work preserving and promoting a language, and culture itself in the area of Northern Kurdistan (South-Eastern Turkey) is an interesting phenomenon functioning on multiple levels. Although with restrictions, it is possible to learn Kurdish not only at school, but also at university as a part of BA and MA studies. Moreover, various institutions belonging to a private sector as well as some municipal ones provide numerous opportunities to take part in rich and vivid Kurdish culture. However the prolonged policy of shunning and marginalizing languages of minorities proved to be a serious disadvantage, especially to Kurdish children. It causes confusion in communication among them, their families and their peers, which may lead to identity problems while growing up and in their adult lives. This paper provides insight into the situation of Kurdish language education in South-Eastern Turkey (Northern Kurdistan), highlighting the linguistic, legal, and pedagogical aspects of schooling in the area.

Introduction

The paper presents observations, and analysis of the data collected during the study visit in Northern Kurdistan which took place as a part of “Ez mefe xwe dizanim! - I know my rights!” project between 2nd April and 14th April, 2015. The project was launched by the Kurdish Institute in Brussels⁴⁵ and planned for 2 years - from 2014 to 2016. The other organizations

⁴² The article was first published in *Fritillaria Kurdica*. Bulletin of Kurdish Studies no. 13-14

⁴³ Student of Iranian Studies at Jagiellonian University, e-mail address: sewillo.olga@gmail.com

⁴⁴ Student of Iranian Studies at Jagiellonian University, e-mail address: oskar.podlasinski@uj.edu.pl

⁴⁵ Main site of the Kurdish institute in Brussels, available online at: <http://www.kurdishinstitute.be/kurdish-institute-of-brussels-1/> [accessed: 08.05.2016]. The Kurdish Institute is a non-profit organization trying to improve and promote ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities' rights in Turkey, the Middle East, and the Caucasus. They publish the bi-monthly periodical *The Kurds* as well as reports about the Kurds and other minorities in Turkey, the Middle East, and the Caucasus. They organize conferences, French and Kurdish language courses, exhibitions and various social projects.

participating in the project are Kurdî Der from Diyarbakır (Turkey), Pro Humanitate from Cologne (Germany) and Jagiellonian University from Cracow (Poland). The project is formally under the auspices of Erasmus+ program, aiming to improve knowledge about mother tongue education among Kurdish youth, and to prepare a report about human and linguistic rights for European youth, basing on the experience from Diyarbakır and cooperation with the institutions mentioned above. The aim of the paper is to present the situation of minority language education in South-Eastern Turkey and raise awareness of importance of mother tongue education. As a part of the study visit within the project, we visited seven different institutions: Kurdî Der (Diyarbakır), Ferzad Kemanger Primary School (Diyarbakır, Department of Culture and Tourism of Diyarbakır's Municipality, the office of Eğitim Sen Union (Diyarbakır), Artuklu University (Mardin) and the refugee camp (Suruç).

The aims and methodology

The methods used to acquire data in the research were mainly based on analyzing documents (the Turkish constitution and civil code, international tractates) and conducting interviews. Notes and recordings were taken during the observations in the visited institutions. The visits and meetings took place in different cities of Northern Kurdistan including, Diyarbakır, Suruç and Mardin. People with whom we cooperated were mostly teachers, lecturers, children, educators and ordinary people. We used consecutive translation provided by other participants of the project who spoke Kurmanji Kurdish; sometimes we used English, particularly at Artuklu University. The collected data was combined with the research on the role of education in mother tongue especially in the case of minorities and of bilingualism and, we tried to make a case study of the mother tongue education in Northern Kurdistan. In this article we would like to analyze the phenomenon of the Kurdish mother tongue education in the Republic of Turkey as well as describe the original Kurdish educational system, and depict its national and private sectors. We begin with the origin of the Kurdish language, then we introduce legal status of languages of a minority. Later historical development of Kurdish cultural and educational institutions of Northern Kurdistan will be presented. It is described using the historical and cultural background of the institutions that we visited in the scope of this study.

To introduce the development of the Kurdish education in the Republic of Turkey, it is necessary to begin with complex social, psychological, and linguistic phenomena which have

been named as *bilingualism* or *multilingualism*. In this article, we will call bilingual/ multilingual individuals after Yuko Goto Butler, as “people who obtain communicative competence in more than one language, with various degrees of proficiencies, in oral and/or written forms, in order to interact with speakers of one or more languages in a given society” (Butler, 2014:112). According to Butler, the term bilingual refers to one type of a multilanguage user who uses two languages, whereas trilingual respectively uses three languages and quadrilingual uses four languages. The following definitions will help us to look at the Kurdish society as a bilingual and sometimes a trilingual community.

Since a language is “a vehicle of tradition and culture, and the medium of group narrative” (Edwards, 2013: 19), and is always used in a cultural context we dare to claim, that it is inseparable from cultural identity. Our statement will be supported by presenting findings of researchers such as Gloria Anzaldúa, Nihat Polat and Diane L. Schallert. Also Li Wei claims, speakers of a particular language feel a sense of identity and security in a culturally familiar environment which includes the feelings of being understood, valued, supported and respected (Wei, 2013:43-44). In such conditions, speakers may easily develop their linguistic skills to communicate and share their feelings with other members of a group. Unfortunately, language use can often be the product of necessity rather than a choice (Jones, 2004:41) and may have a presence through the military, religious or economic force (Edwards, 2013:20). A language contact very often involves varieties of unequal strength (Edwards, 2013:10). It is important to ask to what degree the power can be used to impose a language. According to Turkish law, Turkish is the only language of instructions in the public education which marginalizes a number of minority languages i.e. Kurdish. It has been called by Tove Skutnabb-Kangas an *assimilationist education* and presented in her research about the linguistic genocide and linguistic imperialism (Skutnabb-Kangas and Fernandes, 2008). According to Wayne E. Wright, cited by L. Wei, students learn best in the language they understand most, so bilingual education where two or more native languages are used in a classroom is the most welcomed solution (Wei, 2013:598-599). She claims that bilingual/multilingual education became desirable whenever language groups came into contact (Wei, 2013:598-599).

During our research we observed, that Kurdish education exists on many different levels – in some primary public schools (one lesson per week from the 5th grade), primary private schools (only three institutions), academic institutions, private lessons in different Kurdish

institutions, Internally Displaced People's camps. We called it as *multilevel education* supported by the institutions which play a significant role in an individual's life. Moreover, other associations play satellite, but an important role in shaping education in Northern Kurdistan which goes far beyond its traditional perception. Yücel Demirer, the researcher at Ohio State University, describes it as *Kurdish civic education* (Municipality of Diyarbakir might be given as an example) which is, in her opinion, a form of socialization (Demirer, 2005:135). It requires participation, shapes citizen's awareness, and answers the dominant cultural policy. To understand the concepts discussed above better, we will analyze particular segments of the Kurdish education in Northern Kurdistan in more details in the following sections of the article.

The Kurdish language and its legal situation in the Republic of Turkey

A linguistic situation of the area inhabited by Kurds is vastly heterogeneous with languages belonging to multiple families, such as Semitic languages, mainly Arabic and Neo-Aramaic, Indo-European languages such as Persian, Kurdish and Armenian as well as Turkic languages such as Turkish and Azeri. Kurdish is widely spoken in Kurdistan, the area extending from Western Iran, Turkey, Iraq to Syria (Haig and Öpengin, 2015:1). Kurdish is rather continuum of various, closely related languages and dialects (Paul, 2008) with a number of speakers that varies greatly depending on sources and should be treated with great cautiousness. Northern Kurdish, Kurmanji, is spoken approximately by 20 million people and is by far the most commonly spoken dialect, followed by Central Kurdish, Sorani with a number of speakers estimated on the level of 5 million people (McCarus, 2009:587). The literary works written in Kurmanji date back to the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, and contain masterpieces of Malayê Jezirî (1570-1640), Feqiyê Teyran (1590-1660), Ehmede Xanî (1650-1707), İsmail Bayazidî (1642-1709) and others (Blau, 1989:328,). Although a written standard of both Sorani and Kurmanji is still developing, the foundation of a comprehensive writing system for Kurmanji was laid in the 1930s by Celadet Ali and Kamuran Bedir Khan brothers, who popularized it in the newspaper *Hawar (The Call)* (Blau, 1989:328), issued in Damascus since 1932 until 1945 (Uzun, 1989:74), and is based on a modified Latin alphabet containing 31 letters. Sorani is written with a modified Arabic alphabet, which consists of 36 letters developed in the newspaper *Jîn* in Sulaimania in Iraq (McCarus, 2009:587).

According to the definition of European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, a minority or a regional language is a language which is traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of the State who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State's population, and is different from the official language(s) of that state as well as it does not include either dialect(s) of the official language(s) of the state or the languages of migrants (European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, 1992:2). Basing on this definition it is possible to concur that Kurdish may have status of a minority or a regional language according to European law. Although Turkey was not a signatory of the said agreement, there are still laws and treaties which were approved by Turkish legislation. The main example would be Treaty of Lausanne, signed by Turkey after the first World War, that states in section III, article 39, that:

“No restrictions shall be imposed on the free use by any Turkish national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, religion, in the press, or in publications of any kind or at public meetings. “ (Lausanne Peace Treaty, Part I. Political clauses, 1923)

This point, however, stands in certain opposition to the present Turkish constitution, precisely articles 3, 42 and 66, which are valid and enforced by law. According to the constitution:

- The State of Turkey, with its territory and nation, is an indivisible entity. Its language is Turkish. (Article 3)
- No language other than Turkish shall be taught as a mother tongue to Turkish citizens at any institution of education. (Article 42)
- Everyone bound to the Turkish State through the bond of citizenship is a Turk. (Article 66) (The Constitution of the Republic of Turkey, current version: 29)

Apart from articles 3, 42 and 66 in the previous constitution from year 1982 there was article 26, that stated:

“No language prohibited by law may be used for disclosure or publication of ideas and opinions. Written or printed materials, records, tapes, videotapes, as well as other means of expression that are in violation of this prohibition, will be confiscated.” (The Constitution of the Republic of Turkey, 1982)

This law was abolished in 1991 (Hassanpour et. al., 1996:367-379), leading to an improvement of minority language rights. The law which was passed in 2012 enabled to introduce Kurdish language classes in State run public schools in a form of an elective course (Bocheńska, Kurpiewska-Korbut, 2015:205).

International conventions concerning minority languages

Legal situation of minority languages in case of many countries is based on national policy as well as international conventions, and treaties, which regard it as a vital element of human rights. The conventions mostly guarantee free usage of a language, prohibit any form of repression or discrimination against its users, perceiving communication in mother tongue as a natural extension of indigenous culture. The international resolutions concerning rights of usage of minority languages and education in mentioned languages are:

- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
 - In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language. (Article 27) (International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1976:179)
- Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities
 - Persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities (here in after referred to as persons belonging to minorities) have the right to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, and to use their own language, in private and in public, freely and without interference or any form of discrimination. (Article 2) (Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, 1992:2)

There is abundance of examples of European and international laws, treaties and conventions emphasizing an indisputable value of a language as an important element of one's identity. Roger Dunbar states, that in discourse concerning minority languages, there are two main

approaches: one focusing on a language being a fundamental constitutive element of personal identity helping with development of one's identity, and the second comparing linguistic diversity to bio-diversity being a value itself (Dunbar, 2001:90-120). Growing awareness of cultural and linguistic diversity lead countries such as Great Britain to more complex and intensified policy protecting minority languages, which can be seen on the example of Gaelic and Welsh, both languages of the traditional minorities, which until recently have been in decline, although this trend has recently stopped at some point (Dunbar, 2006:181-198). Understanding the multilingual diversity and its undisputable value in a process of education was a very important part of "Ez mefe xwe dizanim! - I know my rights!" project conducted in the spirit of understanding multi-ethnic and multilingual society of South-Eastern Turkey.

The education system in Turkey

The education system in Turkey revolves around compulsory education for children lasting for 12 years. After the structural reform which took place in 2012, the new system emerged in a form of 4+4+4 model, consisting of 4 years of primary school, 4 years of lower secondary school and 4 years of upper secondary school (Zapata, Pont, Albiser, Fraccola, 2013:6). There is also a possibility of completing non-compulsory pre-primary education involving children at the age of 3-5. At the age of 6 minors start their primary education and after completing it, they start secondary education provided by various high schools (Zapata, Pont, Albiser, Fraccola, 2013:6).

During the last twenty years, there were some changes regarding Turkish policy towards Kurds, especially since 2002 the ban of using Kurdish was lifted, and also since 2005 it became possible to teach Kurdish on private courses (Bocheńska, Kurpiewska-Korbut, 2015:204). Public television dedicated one of its channels to broadcast the program in Kurdish (TRT6), and since 2009 Kurds opened some institutions dedicated to teaching, researching and promoting Kurdish culture, language and literature, amongst which is Institute of living languages at Mardin University, moreover, the possibility of studying Kurdish language and literature exists also at Van YüzüncüYıl University, Alp Arslan University in Muş and Dicle University in Diyarbakır, Bingöl University, Bilkent Univeristy, Sabanci Univeristy and Tunceli University in Istanbul. All of the universities offer courses of Kurmanji, apart from Mardin and Bingöl Universities, where it is also possible to learn Zaza and Sorani dialects (Bocheńska, Kurpiewska-Korbut, 2015:204-

205). In 2012, the Kurdish language was introduced to schools in a form of an elective class. The condition of running the classes was a substantial number of students willing to participate in them (Bocheńska, Kurpiewska-Korbut, 2015:204).

Public education

On the public level the first institution worth considering is **Eğitim Sen** - Education and Science Workers' Union (Eğitimve Bilim Emekçileri Sendikası)⁴⁶. We visited their Diyarbakır's office on 6th April, 2015. Eğitim Sen was founded in 1993, but it was not acknowledged by the law until 2001. Its headquarter is located in Ankara, and it has over 100 offices all over the country. The offices are situated in Diyarbakır along with 9200 members. During our visit the representative of Eğitim Sen told us, that the union had almost 200 thousand members in general. As stated by the headmaster of Eğitim Sen the vast majority of them were Kurds, but a lot of people were also of Turkish or Armenian descent. The leadership of Eğitim Sen was held by a chairman and co-chairman, respectively a man and a woman on the base of gender equality rights. The union works on six different fields: law, education, public health, promotion, management and gender issues. They support equal rights for all Turkish minorities, work in public schools with mother tongue education, help in hospitals, promote culture of minorities, organize events and promote women's mobility and empowerment.

The structure of modern formal schooling in the Republic of Turkey, as it is mentioned above, is divided into three parts: primary school, secondary school and a university level. It is based on the usage of the Turkish language both written and spoken, what means, that this language is dominant as a standard medium of instruction. Eğitim Sen works in primary schools where Kurdish children can learn their mother tongue during one lesson per week (45 mins). Amir Hassanpour – a Kurdish scholar and researcher, holds the view that school as a public institution through the language of instruction fulfils different roles. First of all, it unifies and normalizes, so acquired knowledge is properly taught and developed on particular levels of the schooling system. Secondly, it shapes linguistics and intellectual homogenization which serves political integration and ethnic assimilation (Hassanpour, 1992:142). Thus, in his opinion, school should be perceived as a medium of students' identity (Hassanpour, 1992:142).

⁴⁶Eğitim Sen is a part of the Confederation of Public Employees' Trade Unions (Kamu Emekçileri Sendikaları Konfederasyonu, KESK), which is one of the four major [national trade union centers](#) in [Turkey](#).

Unfortunately, according to the data collected by Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Desmond Fernandes, researchers examining linguistic genocide, the dominant language programs in Turkish schools in general are: “widely attested as the least effective educationally for minority language students” (Skutnabb-Kangas and Fernandes, 2008:55). Moreover, “this subtractive, dominant-language-only-medium submersion model of education can cause serious mental harm to students from indigenous, minority or dominated groups” (Skutnabb-Kangas and Fernandes, 2008:55). The context of language dominance in school is important because “history matters and those longstanding, coercive relations of power at the macro-level have the potential to take their toll on school-based micro-interactions between educators, students, and peers” (Taylor, 2009:304). The data reported here appears to support the assumption, that Eğitim Sen teachers encounter a lot of different problems connected with the Kurdish mother tongue education in Turkish public schooling system which, by the mentioned researchers, is called as *assimilationist education* (Skutnabb-Kangas and Fernandes, 2008:52). It often forcibly transfers Kurdish students to another linguistic and cultural group, which results in confusion in communication within a family and with their peers. Accordingly *assimilationist education* weakens writing and reading competencies in both Kurdish and Turkish, causing constant frustration and might lead to the dominant bilingualism (de Zulueta, 1995:182)⁴⁷. As a consequence students may perceive themselves through the image offered in the dominated language and feel less intelligent or even humiliated and anxious. Moreover, students receive more input in the second language than in the first language as we assume Kurdish is mostly learned at home. Charles Marcrum holds the view, that the strongest language proficiency, the more individuals identify themselves with a particular society and its culture (Marcrum II, 2007:4). Kurdish pupils may fail to identify with some part of their culture which is not represented in the Turkish textbooks and Turkish children’s literature.

This situation also creates a new group of bilingual speakers of both Kurdish and Turkish, which was examined by Nihat Polat and Diane L. Schallert. In their findings, they divided this new group into speakers who were native bilinguals, and whose exposure to both languages began before schooling (Bilingual First Language Acquisition), and speakers who were monolingual in Kurdish until they began formal education in Turkish around the age of six, and

⁴⁷According to Zulueta, in dominant bilingualism individuals don’t feel self-confident in one of the languages they speak what weakens their self-esteem and makes them less friendly.

whose Turkish showed varying degrees of proficiency (Early Second Language Acquisition). They estimated that the majority of Kurds in the group was consecutive bilinguals – they acquired proficiency in the second language after the first language (Polat and Schallert, 2013:750).

On 9th April, we visited Artuklu Univeristy in Mardin, which was established in 2007 and **Institute of Living Languages**, opened two years later, where Kurdish dialects are taught. It is divided into three departments: Department of Kurdish Language and Culture, Department of Arabic Language and Culture and Department of Syriac Language and Culture. Among the others, the first one is the biggest and 1276 has graduated from it so far (Aydin, 2016). It offers two different kinds of postgraduate studies. It is possible to study for two years, what implies writing a master thesis or to study for one year without writing a thesis. Both of them entitle graduates to teach the Kurdish language at school. There are 40 people working in the department, ten of them are responsible for teaching Kurdish dialects. It is crucial because the master program contains the following subjects: grammar, syntax, writing, classical literature, modern literature and folklore culture. At Artuklu University, to teach Kurdish dialects teachers mostly use materials written by themselves, and sometimes they import books from abroad, mainly from Kurdish diaspora (Bülbül, Geyik, Bingöl 2015, Aydin 2016).⁴⁸

Institute of Living Languages encounters its own difficulties in teaching Kurdish dialects. It is mainly connected with a situation of graduates who are not able to find jobs in Turkish primary schools. Problems occur when it comes to organization and payment rates. To start Kurdish dialect lectures, each school is obliged to obtain a consent of 10 children's parents who declare their interest in participation in this class in writing. However, for different reasons pupils do not declare a desire to learn Kurdish, they acquire the language mostly at home, in different conditions and their language competence differs. Until the fifth grade, they do not have an opportunity to learn it in public schools. Moreover, teachers struggle with their own problems. It is difficult to earn a satisfactory amount of money by teaching Kurdish. They are hired by the government and their salaries are very small, so they have to work in several different places and constantly move from one institution to another. It can be considered as

⁴⁸The information was obtained by SewiŃo and Podlasiński from the representatives of Institute of Living Languages during the study visit in Northern Kurdistan (April 2015), and also during the academics' visits at Jagiellonian University (May 2015, May 2016).

paradox because Institute of Living Languages was primarily designed to educate Kurdish language teachers for public schools. But during our meeting with the lecturers, we discovered that for the past 5 years the institution became an important point of cooperation where people who are interested in developing Kurdish dialects work on literature, grammar, history and folklore (Bülbül, Geyik, Bingöl, 2015, Aydın, 2016).⁴⁹

The Kurdish language institutions

Kurdish Language Association called Kurdî-der'a Amedê (in abbreviation **Kurdî Der**) in Diyarbakır was the first institution visited in the project. It is a part of a bigger organization named Kurd Der - Kurdish Democracy Culture and Solidarity Association which was founded in 2004 as a non-governmental organization in Ankara. The institution is committed to protecting human rights and promoting the Kurdish language in the Republic of Turkey (Kurdî Der, 2015). During our visit on 5th April, 2015 the building of Diyarbakır's Kurdî Der was completely devoted to a schooling activity and eight different courses were being run there. During that time language classes both in Kurmanji and Zaza dialects were organized for those who were eager to learn them. But, according to the Turkish law, which is mentioned above, education of minorities' languages cannot be provided for children on the level of primary and secondary school outside Turkish public schools. Due to these circumstances people who want to attend classes in Kurdî Der have to be at least fifteen years old (Kurdî Der, 2015). The association organizes courses on three different levels: for beginners, students and non-students. They pay respectively: 0.50 and 100 TL for three months of studying, basing on the information provided by the director, the money is spent only on supplies for the school, and what is worth mentioning, teachers probably work without payment. Despite that, lectures are conducted twice a week, and entrants can obtain a certificate of proficiency in the Kurdish language after they complete one of the courses (Kurdî Der, 2015).

The interesting thing about Kurdî Der activity is, that they also hold Armenian language classes conducted by Armenians – another minority in Turkey. As it was said “they work together in the name of the rule which says that a language not only serves communication but it emphasizes one's own identity” (Kurdi Der, 2015). As Nahid Polat and Dien L. Schallert claim

⁴⁹ As Above

language is a twin skin of ethnicity (Polat and Schallert, 2013:746), and its separation from people might result in different kinds of disorders and pathology (Hassanpour et. al., 2012:13). Beside them, Gloria Anzaldúa, Latin-American scholar, who was promoting equality of languages and accents in the United States, claims that language and ethnicity are connected with each other. She wrote: „I am my language”(Anzaldúa, 1999:59)⁵⁰ and it is what, in our opinion, Kurdî Der is definitely associated with.⁵¹ Another reason for putting stress on learning mother language is socio-political context. Most of Kurdish people who belonged to an older generation did not learn how to communicate in Kurdish dialects at school, but rather at their homes, from their parents and family. Unfortunately, a lot of them are illiterate so they cannot teach their own children how to write and read. Not only for this reason some of young people have not been taught how to communicate in Kurdish. Often the reason, as we were told, is that their families do not associate better future with proficiency in Kurdish. They insist on learning Turkish mainly because Turkish labor market requires a high level of competence in it, and minimizes Kurdish in a daily life. It seems to be paradox and it might cause the so-called ‘Matthew effect’ – a negative effect on identification with the minority language visible for example in the lack of enjoyable reading in the minority language by teenagers (Jones, 2004:38). However, quite a big amount of the young speak Kurdish only at home, but they are not able to write or read in it. Numerous children and teenagers learn Kurdish in public schools one hour per week. And all of them can improve their skills during a private course. In this context, the mission of Kurdî Der seems to be very clear: to fill the gap - to create a replacement system of learning the Kurdish language. That is why, they also offer trainings for teachers. Fortunately, for such organizations like Kurdî Der the Kurdish language is also taught in other educational institutions, which will be described below.

The second destination in the project was Dîbistana Seretayîya Ferzad Kemanger⁵² (eng. **Ferzad Kemanger Primary School**) which we visited on 6th April, 2015. This primary school is

⁵⁰Gloria Anzaldúa was also famous for creating a new term ‘linguistics terrorism’ by which she described a domination of one language over another and people’s ability to exclude others on a base of a language they use. She taught that ethnic identity is a twin skin of a language and that the usage of a language creates hierarchy in a society. See: <http://geanzaldua.weebly.com/what-is-linguistic-terrorism.html>.

⁵¹We have been informed by one of the teachers during our visit in Armenian school, in Cracow (which was also part of Ez mefe xwe dizanim project), that knowing ones mother tongue improves pupils’ self-confidence greatly, allowing them to understand themselves, and secondly improves the results of a said child in an education process.

⁵²Ferzad Kemanger was a Kurdish teacher and human rights activist from Iran who was sentenced to death by Islamic Revolutionary Court in 2008. He was accused of acting against God and national security of Iran but no

located in Diyarbakır's Bağlar district, and is one of three private primary schools in Turkey offering education in Kurdish. The other two are located in Cizre district, in Şırnak and Yüksekova district in Hakkari (Rudaw, 2015). The Kemanger School was opened on 15th August, 2014, so it had been active for almost a year at the time we were there. There were eight teachers at work at school during our visit, among whom only one was not paid and was doing voluntary work. They were giving lessons to a hundred of pupils. During the interview the staff mentioned, that Kemanger School had not received any financial support from the government. During our visit, the school was financed by the Municipality of Diyarbakır, which had its own budget, and cooperated with two organizations supporting Kurdish education: Kurdî Der and Eğitim Sen. These organizations were helping with editioning and printing educational materials which were written by Kemanger's teachers. On Turkish book market materials written in Kurdish and dedicated to common subjects taught in primary schools such as: mathematics, literature, geography etc. do not exist, so teachers provided books and workbooks by themselves using their own money and experience. They approved contents by voting in a commission consisting 8 people working at school as teachers. Additionally, they were discussing the syllabus of particular courses with students' parents who had also cooperated together with other inhabitants of Bağlar district in preparing food for children during lunch breaks. The interesting thing which was observed was the fact that, school was governed by a council instead of principals. It consisted of three people of equal status. They had been chosen by teachers and among themselves. The members of the council change every year, so that all teachers would take part in school's administration. That was the sign of collective approach, which we was seen for the first time visiting Kurdî Der Association and it started to be a constantly repeated motif during our visit in Northern Kurdistan, which evolved to really interesting outcomes in our project what is discussed more at the end of the paper.

Teaching at school was fully conducted in Kurmanji dialect of Kurdish. Students attended the following classes: mathematics, literature (writing and reading), history and society class, art, music and sport. During our visit, we were able to observe how the classrooms looked like and meet the children studying there. The teachers showed the school's property

evidence was found to prove his guilt. Amnesty International and Education International called to acquit Kemanger but they failed. It is not a coincidence, that this school is named by his name even though it is located in Turkey. Kemanger became a symbol of the unity of Kurdish stateless nation and school with his name refers to education in its language.

than in the teachers' room we had a chance to interview them, and ask detailed questions which provided us with new information about mother tongue education in Northern Kurdistan. At the base of our observations and talks, we registered that children's voice in school is highly respected. Students are not obliged to participate in a lesson if they do not want to and they cannot gain negative grades (Kermanger School, 2015). At this point, the approach seems for us to be similar to the idea of Alexander Neill's Summerhill School founded in England at the beginning of the XX century. He believed, that school should be conducted in the way to fit a child, not the other way (Sumerhill, 2015). His pupils were free with developing themselves as long as their activity did not harm other people. In Kemanger School, if a child does not want to participate in a lesson it can go with an adjuvant teacher to the playground in the garden, which is located in front of the school's building and take a rest or come up with its own activity (Sumerhill, 2015)⁵³. Surprisingly, students rarely use this possibility and they prefer to participate in lessons. As reported by the teachers, some of them might have family problems or be distracted for other reasons but then they can easily share their problems with teachers and they do so. According to what the teachers said, having no negative grades eliminates envy and sense of grievance among children. It changes rivalry into competition and encourages pupils to continue their self-development. Introducing the idea of a common property was another interesting concept which was observed at school. It teaches students how to cooperate, share things and respect what they have. They were also encouraged to perceive girls as equal to boys as well as disabled people equal to physically capable ones. Teachers emphasized that they refrained from entering political topics at school.

According to what is written above, we can surely observe, that in Kemanger's Primary School teachers treat school surface as a democratic sphere for children, themselves and other members of a Kurdish society who were involved in the school's activity – parents, Kurdish organizations, Municipality governors, people living in Bağlar district etc.. They shared collective approach not only at the administrative level, but also among their pupils underlining the importance of common ownership. At school, they presented an individual approach towards their students and introduced an attitude of gender equality, respect, creativity and stress-free teaching methods. Being aware of the importance of mother tongue education they provided schooling in the Kurmanji dialect for Kurdish children from Diyarbakır and reimagined

⁵³ The playground is equipped with sandpit and benches.

school to create their own type of an educational institution adapted to the socio-political conditions of the country.

However, the collected data about the future of the pupils from Kemanger School leaves a question because there are neither Kurdish secondary schools nor high schools in Turkey. The students of Diyarbakır, Şırnak, and Hakkari primary schools are not able to continue their mother tongue education what may cause confusion by mixing two languages at the same time: Kurdish and Turkish. Lack of proper education in neither of them might be the other problem that occurs. An important issue, which also provoked some speculations was connected with the legal status of Kemanger School. As mentioned above, schooling on the primary level in a language other than Turkish is forbidden. Teachers whom we interviewed reported few raids on school made by Turkish police, which caused a lot of problems mainly connected with devastating the school's property.

Other cultural and educational institutions

On the same day we met the head of Serokatiya Daîreya Çand û Tûrîzmê Ya Şaredariya Bajarê Mezin a Diyarbakır (**Department of Culture and Tourism of Diyarbakır's Municipality**), which cooperates with central Turkish authority, but as we were told, recently had gained some liberty in their activity from the state. Diarbakır province is a widely known region with a lot of touristic places among which the ancient city walls and the Hevsel Gardens which were put on UNESCO's World Heritage List in summer 2015 (UNESCO: 2015). It is visited by almost 200 000 people from all around the world every year.

Department of Culture and Tourism organizes many cultural events which attract people and popularize Kurdish culture, history, and art. According to Muharrem Cebe, the Head of the Department of Culture and Tourism, the department cooperates with some European countries such as Sweden, Switzerland, Netherland and Austria. The department is also responsible for smaller institutions such as Mala Dengbêjan (The Dengbej House) and Art Gallery in Sumer Park visited by us (Cebe, 2015). The first one is a traditional old public house with a courtyard where around 10 -15 elderly people gather to express their grief or happiness by singing legends, stories and commemorating events from Kurdish history. They continue the long Kurdish tradition of singing and storytelling as well as they play a huge role as a part of national heritage, and also constitute an important part of national heritage. For years they

have been cultivating and preserving oral folktales, passed from generation to generation, shielding national identity from oblivion. It is an important place for meetings, reflection and sharing a common tradition. The other place, is an institution, which exhibits Kurdish modern art. The Art Gallery in Sumer Park was the first place in Diyarbakır which exhibited Kurdish Art. It began archiving of Kurdish art to create a collection of art with a purpose focused creating a museum in the future (Bocheńska, Kaczorowski, 2016:62).

According to Yücel Demire traditional festivals shape and reproduce Kurdish identity in Turkey, and we can perceive such gatherings as a form of pedagogy which connects knowledge about the past with surrounding, political climate and ideological constructions (Demire, 2005:135). Encountering Kurds with their own traditions takes place in the transitive points where reality makes a new meaning. Demire writes that:

Through the history of Turkish Republic, the teaching and learning settings functioned as a microcosm of the sociopolitical order and the citizens of the state were depicted as Turkish. The distinction of other identities was ignored in the pedagogical texts. Therefore, the Kurdish political organizations created alternative patterns and venues for learning and unlearning, which constitute a kind of “civic education”. This way clearly presents a different kind of socialization and has to be distinguished from the common definition of civic education as a political intervention that shapes the citizen’s understanding and the level of participation in governance by providing some ideas and standards. It should be used in a much more narrow sense and we might call it “Kurdish civic education” which defines less structured, moderate and condensed, but ultimately politically charged, effort to respond to the dominant cultural policies and the “disjuncture between curricular and social change” in Turkey (Demire, 2005:135).

The *civic education* brings up very important questions connected with the citizenship, belonging to the society and identity constructs (Crittenden and Levine, n.d.). Jack Crittenden and Peter Levine, the authors of the article in the mentioned source, wrote that civic education is not limited to schooling and education. It should be perceived as a lifelong process which involves governments, families, mass media and other institutions. It affects people’s beliefs, commitments, capabilities and actions as members of communities (Crittenden and Levine, n.d.). It is worth pointing out that people decide by themselves whether they perceive themselves as members of a particular community or not.

According to Paulo Freire, the author of the term *liberation pedagogy*, civic education is also connected with oppressors and those being oppressed. He considers that people living under a certain regime and suffering from lack of freedom in the major community should overcome the oppression, which is internalized within their own identities. They can do that by critical reflection on their situation (history and culture) and by taking an action within their own minorities by organizing cultural events (Freire, 2006:92-93). *Liberation pedagogy*, therefore, is a tool for a dialogue exchange which involves both teachers and students who can learn from each other and create common society by working on the past and present reality which surrounds them. As Yücel Demirer says, in Turkish conditions there is a necessity to create a hybrid term called *Kurdish civic education* which according to the collected data might be also a part of so-called *multilevel education* (Demirer, 2005:135).

The examples mentioned above show three different types of education observed in three different institutions. The one which is being described in this paragraph needs a wider perspective involving not only students and educators but also other members of society who participate in events outside school walls. Department of Culture and Tourism of Diyarbakır's Municipality created a new space for culture and language transmission which is located in the urban sphere on the national and international level. Not only inhabitants of South-Western Turkey take part in these events but also people from other parts of the country and furthermore from abroad – they can all participate and create new social space. Thus, Dengbej House gatherings and Sumer Park's exhibitions become new tools of pedagogy in civic education because they transmit knowledge about the past, using Kurdish dialects as languages of an instruction constructing identities based not on oppression, but culture, history and a language. And in the context of Paulo Freire's *liberation pedagogy*, they start a dialogue between visitors in which everyone can learn from each other.

Our last experience with different types of Kurdish education, which we called above *multilevel Kurdish education*, in Northern Kurdistan was a visit in **Internally Displaced People's camp** which was located in Suruç. Around the city, there were seven camps made for Kurdish people coming from Kobanê in Syria which provided schooling for children. According to the teachers working there, on the day of our arrival (7th April, 2015) the number of minor refugees varied from 200 to 250 in each camp, but before the liberation of Kobanê in January 2015, the number reached more than 4 thousand. During that time, it was very difficult to create proper

teaching conditions due to lack of space, books and teachers. However, in April the situation looked differently, mainly because a lot of people had gone back to Kobanê. During our visit most of the teachers working in the camps (around 15 people) were women refugees who arrived from Syria. They were supported by Kurdish and non-Kurdish NGOs such as Kurdî Der and Danish Refugee Council⁵⁴, and arranged lessons for three groups of children (around 20 people in one class) divided according to their age: 3 to 6; 7 to 10 and 11 to 15. Classes were conducted between 8 a.m. and 11 a.m. or 12 and 14 p.m. The youngest students were taught the Kurdish language, history, and ecology whereas older ones were taught maths, music and foreign languages such as Arabic and English.

According to what we have seen, teaching in war conditions is a very complicated matter. The refugees live in tough and extraordinary conditions, and they need almost everything – beginning with soap and water, health care, a place to go and take rest, not to mention - peace of mind. As reported by Punamäki:

“For children, war means life in danger, worry about family security, and horrifying memories. These experiences place overwhelming burdens on children’s mental health and development. Research has provided evidence that children who have been exposed to war and military violence are at risk for increased psychological distress, such as posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depression, anxiety, and concentration problems” (Punamäki et. al., 2005:178-179).

Teaching in the camps is a real challenge and requires a mix of education skills and therapy. It is also a fight for preserving the identity. Additionally, in Suruç in most cases Kurdish children coming from Syria are bilingual. They speak Kurdish and Arabic dialects. Teachers being aware of its importance, pay attention to speaking both of them. Bilingualism or sometimes trilingualism, which can be also called as multilingualism, is a common phenomenon in Kurdish societies. Children from the beginning learn how to speak in more than one language which, according to collected data, empowers their general language capability. Amir Hassanpour, Jaffer Sheyholislami and Tove Skutnabb-Kangas proved that: “properly conducted mother-tongue-based multilingual education can lead to high levels of multilingualism (e.g. Kurdish/Turkish/English), good school achievement (with accompanying later job prospects), a

⁵⁴ About DRC operating in Turkey look: *Turkey*, <https://www.drc.dk/where-we-work/middle-east-and-north-africa/turkey> (data access: 29.11.2015).

positive multilingual identity, and positive attitudes towards self and other” (Hassanpour, Sheyholislami, Skutnabb-Kangas, 2012:13). And, if we agree on the fact that a language is a twin skin of identity it will also help to create a safe place for children in a classroom where their multi social identities, different ethnicity, religion, dialects, age, gender and social status – will be understood and respected.

Conclusion

In the paper, we tried to analyze the phenomena of the Kurdish mother tongue education in Turkey. We presented 6 Kurdish educational institutions, described their roots and we have followed their goals. In our findings, we discovered the unusual Kurdish educational system which functions in specific socio-political conditions. According to Turkish law, it is not possible to conduct lessons in other languages than Turkish in public education. However, in recent years, some attempts can be observed which peacefully introduce new ways to preserve the language of minorities from extinction. We called them *multilevel education* which is visible on the base of minorities using Kurmanji and Zaza dialects. Due to the efforts of Kurmanji teachers the system could start in primary schools. It is possible to learn Kurdish in public schools – one hour per week or in three private primary schools where all subjects are conducted in Kurdish. However, private primary schools encounter many problems with legalizing of the activity. Both types of primary schools offer the Kurdish language in the region of South-Eastern Turkey, where the majority of people are Kurds. One of the schools is called Kemanger Primary School and is located in Diyarbakır. Usually graduates from Artuklu University, people associated with Kurdî Der Association and the Eğitim Sen Union of Teachers used to work at those primary schools. On the secondary level, children can continue Kurdish lessons only in public schools with the same amount of hours. However, it is possible to continue learning in an organization such as Kurdî Der which offers Kurdish language courses for people who are older than fifteen years, twice a week. Then Artuklu University offers Kurdish studies within Institute of Living Languages, where students may continue their education with Kurmanji, Sorani, and Zaza dialects. They are obliged to write a master thesis using one of them.

There are also other places, such as Department of Culture and Tourism of Diyarbakır’s Municipality, which offers different types of education. We called it, after Yücel Demirer,

Kurdish civic education. It is mainly connected with activating culture and society within events and exhibitions through the medium of Kurdish dialects.

All of the described institutions show an unusual approach to collective support. They managed to provide books, school materials, collect people and institutions, and change classrooms into a democratic place for all kind of students. This approach can be surely called as *liberation pedagogy* which serves the other idea, very important for our findings – a language, cultural and to some extent political identity. These institutions flourished to promote the Kurdish language and identity of its people. As Haydar Darıcı wrote: they created “new public space (...) contributed to the feeling that the Kurdish question could be solved by non-violent means” (Darıcı, 2013:783).

Unfortunately, it is possible to observe a lot of obstacles that impede steps taken by them. It is not possible to analyze this topic without using terms such as *assimilationist education* practiced by Turkey. According to it, the Kurdish educational system needs a ‘pedagogical intervention’ which we understand as a change in the approach towards mother tongue and multilanguage education in the country. Some of the solutions had already been proposed by other researchers. The most convincing model was created by the following researchers: Amir Hassanpour, Jaffer Sheyholislami and Tove Skutnabb-Kangas in their article called *Kurds In Turkey and Iraqi Kurdistan: a comparison of Kurdish Educational Language Policy in Two Situations of Occupation*. This model is based on trilingual approach (Skutnabb-Kangas and Fernandes, 2008). It uses Kurdish as the main language of instruction in public schools and Turkish as an additional subject for Kurdish minorities. It involves teachers who are bilingual in Turkish and Kurdish and proposes following model for all minorities: 1. for all, the mother tongue (Arabic, Armenian, Kurdish, Turkish, etc.); 2. for all minorities, the dominant state language (Turkish); for native Turkish speakers, a domestic minority language; and 3. for all, English (or some other major international language). The data collected here support the assumption that a language we speak is instrumental in forming our identity. Unfortunately bilingual education is intricately tied to political, economics, historical, and socio-cultural factors. But steps that have been taken by Kurdish educators, lecturers, teachers and scholars of Northern Kurdistan might be seen as an example of not popular yet, but soon wider spread, approach towards Kurdish education on many different levels.

References:

- Anzaldúa, G. (1999). *Borderlands: la frontera*. San Francisco:Spinsters/Aunt Lute.
- Blau, J. (1989). *Le Kurde*, in: Schmit, R. (Ed.), *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum*. Wiesbaden: Dr Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 327-336.
- Bocheńska, J., Kurpiewska-Korbut, R. (2015). Kurdyjska kultura i instytucje kulturalne oraz ich rola w kształtowaniu procesu pokojowego w Turcji i na Bliskim Wschodzie, in: Wódka, J. (Ed), *Nowa Turcja. Aspekty polityczne, gospodarcze i społeczne*, Warszawa: Instytut Studiów Politycznych Polskiej Akademii Nauk : Oficyna Wydawnicza ASPRA-JR, 193-238.
- Bocheńska, J., Kaczorowski, K. (2016). Idee, ideologie, działanie. Prezentacja wywiadów z przedstawicielami kurdyjskich lewicowych i muzułmańskich instytucji kulturalnych w Kurdystanie Północnym (Turcja) i Stambule, in: *Fritillaria Kurdica*, No 11-12, Kraków. 35-119.
- Butler, Y.G. (2014). Bilingualism/Multilingualism and Second Language Acquisition, in: Ritchie, W.C., Bhatia, T.K. (Eds.), *The Handbook of Bilingualism and Multilingualism*. West Sussex: Blackwell Publishing, Ltd. 109–137.
- Darici, H. (2013). Adults See Politics as Game: Politics of Kurdish Children in Urban Turkey. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. Cambridge University Press. Vol. 45, 775–790.
- Demirer, Y. (2005). Rite of passage as a communal classroom: the pedagogical recycling of traditional New Year celebrations in Turkey, in: E.T. Ewing (Ed.), *Revolution and Pedagogy. Interdisciplinary and Transnational Perspectives on Educational Foundations*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 133–162.
- de Zulueta, F. (1995). Bilingualism, culture and identity. *Group Analysis*. Vol. 28, 179–190.
- Dunbar, R. (2006), Is There a Duty to Legislate for Linguistic Minorities? *Journal of Law and Society*, Volume 33, Issue 1, 181–198.
- Dunbar, R. (2001). Minority language rights in international law, in. *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, Vol. 50, No. 1, 90-120.
- Edwards, J. (2013). Bilingualism and Multilingualism: Some Central Concepts, in: Ritchie, W.C., Bhatia, T.K. (Eds.), *The Handbook of Bilingualism and Multilingualism*, West Sussex: Blackwell Publishing, Ltd, 5–26.

- Freire, P. (2006). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, New York: Continuum.
- Haig, G., Öpengin, E. (2015). Kurmanji Kurdish in Turkey: Structure, Varieties, and Status, in: Bulut, C. (Ed.), *Linguistic Minorities in Turkey and Turkic speaking minorities of the Peripheries*, Pre-publication draft, Wiesbaden, Harrasowitz, 1-72.
- Hassanpour, A. (1992). *Nationalism and language in Kurdistan, 1918-1985*, San Francisco: Mellen Research University Press.
- Hassanpour, A., Sheyholislami, J., Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (2012). Introduction. Kurdish: Linguicide, Resistance and Hope, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*. Vol. 2012. 1-18.
- Hassanpour, A., Skutnabb-Kangas, T., Chyet, M. (1996). The Non-Education of Kurds: A Kurdish Perspective. *International Review of Education - Internationale Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft - Revue Internationale de l'Education* 42(4): 367-379.
- Jones, S. (2004). Shaping Identities: The Reading of Young Bilinguals. *Literacy - The United Kingdom Literacy Association*. Vol. 38, 40-45.
- Mc Carus, E. N. (2009). Kurdish, in: Windfuhr, G., (Ed.), *The Iranian Languages*, London, New York, Routledge, 587-633.
- Marcum II, C.T., (2007). Bilingualism and Cultural Identity Development: Case Studies for an Interactive Perspective. *Vanderbilt Undergraduate Research Journal*. Vol 3.1-6.
- Paul, L. (2008). Kurdish Language: History of the Kurdish Language, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, online edition, available at: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/kurdish-language-i> (accessed: 08.05.2016).
- Polat, N., Schallert, D.L. (2013). Kurdish Adolescents Acquiring Turkish: Their Self-Determined Motivation and Identification with L1 and L2 Communities as Predictors of L2 Accent Attainment. *The Modern Language Journal*. Vol. 97, 745–763.
- Punamäki, R.-L., Ali, K.J., Ismahil, K.H., Nuutinen, J. (2005). Trauma, Dreaming, and Psychological Distress Among Kurdish Children. *American Psychological Association*. Vol. 15, 178-194.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T., Fernandes, D. (2008). Kurds in Turkey and in (Iraqi) Kurdistan: A Comparison of Kurdish Educational Language Policy in Two Situations of Occupation. *An International Journal of Genocide Studies and Prevention*. Vol. 3, 43–73.

- Taylor, S.K. (2009). Right Pedagogy/Wrong Language and Caring in Times of Fear? Issues in The Schooling of Ethnic Kurdish Children in Denmark. *International Journal of Bilingual Educationa and Bilingualism*. Vol. 12, 291–307.
- Uzun, M. (1989). Bedir Khan. *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, IV. Fasc. 1., p.74; available online at: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/bedir-khan-badr-khan-d> (accessed: 08.05.2016).
- Wei, L. (2013). Conceptual and Methodological Issues in Bilingualism and Multilingualism Research, in: Ritchie, W.C., Bhatia, T.K. (Eds.), *The Handbook of Bilingualism and Multilingualism*. West Sussex: Blackwell Publishing, Ltd., 26–53.

Interviews and lectures 2015:

- Aydin, T. (2016), *The Kurdish Studies in Turkey and at Mardin Artuklu University*, lecture given at the Jagiellonian University, May 18.
- Bülbül, M. Geyik, Bingöl, I. (2015), *Institute of Living Languages at the Artuklu University*, lecture given at Jagiellonian University, May 27.
- Cebe, M. (2015), interview taken by Sewiło and Podlasiński during the study visit in Northern Kurdistan, in April.
- Eğitim Sen (2015), information and observations obtained by Sewiło and Podlasiński during the study visit in Northern Kurdistan in April.
- Internally Displaced People's camp in Suruç (2015), information and observations obtained by Sewiło and Podlasiński during the study visit in Northern Kurdistan in April.
- Kermanger School (2015), information and observations obtained by Sewiło and Podlasiński during the study visit in Northern Kurdistan in April.
- Kurdi Der (2015), interviews taken with the representatives of Kurdî Der, obtained by Sewiło and Podlasiński during the study visit in Northern Kurdistan in April.

Online sources:

- Crittenden J., Levine P. Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy: *Civic Education*, available online at: <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/civic-education/> (accessed: 08.05.2016)
- The Constitution of the Republic of Turkey (Current), available online at: https://global.tbmm.gov.tr/docs/constitution_en.pdf (accessed 18.04.2016)
- The Constitution of the Republic of Turkey (Old), 1982, available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b5be0.html> (accessed 30 November 2015)
- Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, 1992, available online at:

<http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/GuideMinoritiesDeclarationen.pdf> (accessed 30.11.2015)

European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, 1992, available online at:

<https://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=090000168007bf4b> (accessed: 08.05.2016)

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1976, available online at:

<https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20999/volume-999-I-14668-English.pdf> (accessed 30.11.2015)

Lausanne Peace Treaty, Part I. Political clauses, 1923, available online at:

http://www.mfa.gov.tr/lausanne-peace-treaty-part-i_-political-clauses.en.mfa (accessed: 08.05.2016)

Three Schools in Turkey Open Kurdish Education for First Time, Despite Opposition, [in:] Rudaw, 9 September, 2015, <http://rudaw.net/english/middleeast/turkey/15092014> (data access: 23.05.2016).

Zapata J., Pont B., Albiser E., Fraccola S., 2013, *Education Policy Outlook: Turkey*, available online at:

http://www.oecd.org/edu/EDUCATION%20POLICY%20OUTLOOK%20TURKEY_EN.pdf (accessed: 08.05.2016)

Websites:

Main site of the Kurdish institute in Brussels, available online at:

<http://www.kurdishinstitute.be/kurdish-institute-of-brussels-1/> (accessed: 08.05.2016)

Main site of the Kurdî Der Organization: <http://kurdder.org/index.php/en/kurd-der/hakkimizda> (accessed: 08.05.2016)

Main website of Gloria Anzaldúa, available at: <http://geanzaldua.weebly.com/what-is-linguistic-terrorism.html> (accessed 08.05.2016)

Summerhill website, available at: <http://www.summerhillschool.co.uk/an-overview.php>, (accessed: 08.05.2016)

DRC operating areas in Turkey: <https://www.drc.dk/where-we-work/middle-east-and-north-africa/turkey> (accessed: 08.05.2016)

UNESCO website <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1488>, (accessed: 08.05.2016).

ASTENGIYÊN LI PÊŞIYA ZIMANÊ DAYÎKÊ

<p style="text-align: center;">EĞİTİM VE ÖĞRETİMDE ANADİL ÖNÜNDEKİ ENGELLER :</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1) ANAYASA VE ULUSLAR ARASI SÖZLEŞMELER</p> <p>Kişinin sosyolojik kimliğine rengini veren anadili kişiliğinin ayrılmaz bir parçasıdır.</p> <p>Kişi anadili ile düşünür, kavramları bu dilde kurar. Eğitim ve öğretimde anadilinin kullanılması kişinin daha rahat öğrenmesi ve başarıyı da birlikte getirir. Anayasanın 42. maddesi tüm yurttaşlar için ilköğretimi zorunlu ve devlet okullarında ücretsiz olduğu düzenlemesine yer vermektedir.</p> <p>Sosyal hukuk devleti ilkesinin bir gereği olarak devlet kendi yurttaşlarına eğitim ve öğrenim olanağı sağlamak zorundadır.</p> <p>Yurttaşları arasında bir ayrıma gitmeksizin fırsat eşitliği yaratacak şekilde sağlamalıdır.</p> <p>Kürtlerin anadili olan Kürtçenin kullanımı konusunda temel yasaklama hükmü Anayasanın 42. maddesinde yer almaktadır.</p> <p>Bu maddenin son fıkrası <i>“Türkçe’den başka hiçbir dil, eğitim ve öğretim kurumlarında Türk vatandaşlarına ana dilleri olarak okutulamaz ve öğretilemez. Eğitim ve öğretim kurumlarında okutulacak yabancı diller ile yabancı dille eğitim ve öğretim yapan okulların tâbi olacağı esaslar kanunla düzenlenir. Milletlerarası anlaşma hükümleri saklıdır.”</i> düzenlemesiyle Kürtçenin adı anılmaksızın eğitim ve öğretimde kullanımı yasaklanmıştır.</p> <p>Uluslar arası sözleşmelere ilişkin Anayasanın 90. Maddesinin 5. Fıkrası <i>“Usulüne göre yürürlüğe konulmuş milletlerarası anlaşmalar kanun hükmündedir.</i></p> <p><i>Bunlar hakkında Anayasaya aykırılık iddiası ile Anayasa Mahkemesine başvurulamaz.</i></p> <p><i>Usulüne göre yürürlüğe konulmuş temel hak ve özgürlüklere ilişkin milletlerarası anlaşmalarla</i></p>	<p>DI PERWERDEHÎ Û HİNDEKARİYÊ DE ASTENGIYÊN LI PÊŞIYA ZIMANÊ DAYÎKÊ :</p> <p>1) PEYMANÊN NAVNETEWYÎ Û MAKEZAGON</p> <p>Zimanê dayîkê ku rengê xwe dide nasnameya civakî ya mirovan, wesleyeke herî girîng a kesatiyê ye. Mîrov bi zimanê dayîkê dihizire. Bi vî zimanî têgeha ava dike.</p> <p>Di perwerdehî û hîndekarîyê de zimanê dayîkê were bikaranîn, mirov hêsantir hîn dibe û biserdikeve. Xala 42. a makezagonê, dibêje <i>“ji bo hemû hemwelatîyan hîndekariya seretayî mecbûri ye. Di dibistanên dewletê de belaş e.”</i></p> <p>Wek pêwistyeke rêgeza dewleta huqûkê ya ciwakî, dewlet mecbûr e derfeta hîndekarî û perwerdehî ji bo hemwelatîyên xwe temîn bike.</p> <p>Di nava hemwelatîyan de bê cûdayetî , bi şeweyeke afrandina wekheviyeke fersendî divê were temînkirin.</p> <p>Di derbarê bikaranîna Kurdî ku zimanê dayîkê yê Kurdan e, hukmê qedexekirî yê bingeîn , di xala 42’emîn a makezagonê de cih digire.</p> <p>Benda herî dawî ya vê xalê : <i>“ Ji bilî Tirkî ti ziman, di sazî û dezgeyên hîndekarî û perwerdehiyê de, wekî zimanê dayîka wan ji bo hemwelatîyên Turkiyeyê nayê danxwendin û nayê hînkirin. Zimanê biyanî ku di sazî û dezgeyên hîndekarî û perwerdehiyê de, dê were danxwendin û dibistanên ku hîndekarî û perwerdehiyê bi zimanê biyanî bi kar tînin, esasên ku van dibistanan pêgirtîyên (tabîên) wan dibin, bi zagonan tîrêk û pêk kîrin. Hukmên peymanên gerdûnî veşartîye.”</i></p> <p>Bi vê şeweyê her çiqasî navê Kurdî nehatiye gotin jî, bikaranîna Kurdî di hîndekarî û perwerdehiyê de hatiye qedexekirin.</p> <p>Di benda 5’emîn a xala 90’î ya makezagonê ya derbarê peymanên navneteweyî de bi vê awayê hatiye rêk û pêk kîrin : <i>“ Peymanên navneteweyî ku gorî ûsûla xwe ketiye meriyetê hukmê zagonî ye. Di derbarê wan de, bi angaştê (îdiayê) ev dijzagonî ye, ti carî serî li Dadgeha Makezagonê nayê dayîn. Zagonên peymanên navneteweyî, ku di derbarê azadî û mafên bingeîn de gorî ûsûla xwe ketiye meriyetê, ji bona ku di heman mijarê de hukmên</i></p>
---	---

kanunların aynı konuda farklı hükümler içermesi nedeniyle çıkabilecek uyumsuzluklarda milletlerarası andlaşma hükümleri esas alınır.”

Düzenlemesini taşımaktadır.

İnsan Hakları Avrupa Sözleşmesinin eğitim hakkını da düzenleyen ek 1 nolu protokolünün 2. Maddesi “Hiç kimse eğitim hakkından yoksun bırakılamaz. Devlet, eğitim ve öğretim alanında yükleneceği görevlerin yerine getirilmesinde, ana ve babanın bu eğitim ve öğretimin kendi dini ve felsefi inançlarına göre yapılmasını sağlama haklarına saygı gösterir.”

Birleşmiş Milletler Çocuk Haklarına Dair Sözleşmesinin 17, 29 ve 30. Maddeleri aşağıya alınmıştır.

“Madde-17

Taraf

Devletler, kitle iletişim araçlarının önemini kabul ederek çocuğun; özellikle toplumsal, ruhsal ve ahlâki esenliği ile bedensel ve zihinsel sağlığını geliştirmeye yönelik çeşitli ulusal ve uluslararası kaynaklardan bilgi ve belge edinmesini sağlarlar. Bu amaçla Taraf Devletler:

- a. Kitle iletişim araçlarını çocuk bakımından toplumsal ve kültürel yararı olan ve 29 uncu maddenin ruhuna uygun bilgi ve belgeyi yaymak için teşvik ederler;
- b. Çeşitli kültürel, ulusal ve uluslararası kaynaklardan gelen bu türde bilgi ve belgelerin üretimi, değişimi ve yayımı amacıyla uluslararası işbirliğini teşvik ederler;
- c. Çocuk kitaplarının üretimini ve yayılmasını teşvik ederler;
- d. Kitle iletişim araçlarını azınlık grubu veya bir yerli ahaliye mensup çocukların dil gereksinimlerine özel önem göstermeleri konusunda teşvik ederler;
- e. 13 ve 18’inci maddelerde yeralan kurallar gözönünde tutularak çocuğun esenliğine zarar verebilecek bilgi ve belgelere karşı korunması için

cûda vedihewîne lihevnehatin û lihevnekirin ku derkevin de hukmên peymanên navneteweyî esas tê girtin.”

Peymana Ewrûpa Yên Mafên Mirovan ya mafên perwerdehiyê jî rêk û pêk dike xala 2’emîn ya protokolê , pêveka hejmara 1’emîn : “ *Ti kes ji mafê xwe yê perwerdehiyê nayê bê parkirin (mehrûm kirin). Dewlet di qada hîndekarî û perwerdehiyê de, peywîrên ku hildigire ser milê xwe, bi cih anînê de, daxwaza dê û bavê ku di derbarê vê hîndekarî û perwerdehî ya gorî beweriya felsefeya xwe û ola xwe, dewlet ji bo mafê pêkanîn û bi cih anîna wan rêz û hurmet nîşan dide.*

Xalên 17, 29, û 30’emîn a Peymana Neteweyên Yekbuyî Ya Di Derbarê Mafên Zarokan li jêrî hatiye daxistin.

“Xal – 17

Dewletên xwedî alî (teref) girîngiya alav û amûrên ragihandinê yên girseyê dipejirîne. Bi taybet ji bo xweşiya exlaqî , rûhî û civakî û bi pêşxistina bedenî û tenduristiya zihênî ya zarokan û ji bo ew bibin xwedî agahî û belgeyên çavkaniyên cûr be cûr neteweyî û navneteweyî derfet tèn temîn kirin.. Bi vê armancê Dewletên xwedî alî :

- a. Ji bo weşandina belge û agahî yên li ruhê xala 29’emîn lihevhatî û xwedî sûda candî û civakî û ji bo zarokan amûrên ragihandinê yên girseyî teşwîq dikin.
- b. Bi armanca belav kirin û pevguherînê, hilberîna belge û agahiyên cûreyên wisa ku ji çavkaniyên neteweyî û navneteweyî û çandên tewr bi tewr tèn, hevkarîya navneteweyî teşwîq dikin.
- c. Belav kirin û hilberîna pirtûkên zarokan teşwîq dikin.
- d. Di mijara girîngî dîtina taybet , pêwistiyên zimên ên zarokên mensûbên ahaliyên (şênîyên) binecih an koma kêmarekê, alaf û amûrên ragihandinê yên girseyê de teşwîq dikin.
- e. Qayde û rêzikên di xalên 13 û 18’emîn de cihgirtî li ber çavan were girtin , li hemberî belge û agahiyên xesarê bide xweşiya zarokan, ji bo parastina wan, pêşxistina rêgezên beralî kirinê yên guncan û lihevbuyî teşwîq dikin.”

uygun yönlendirici ilkeler geliştirilmesini teşvik ederler.”

“Madde-29 Taraf Devletler çocuk eğitiminin aşağıdaki amaçlara yönelik olmasını kabul ederler:

- a. Çocuğun kişiliğinin, yeteneklerinin, zihinsel ve bedensel yeteneklerinin mümkün olduğunca geliştirilmesi;
- b. İnsan haklarına ve temel özgürlüklere, Birleşmiş Milletler Andlaşmasında benimsenen ilkelere saygısının geliştirilmesi;
- c. Çocuğun ana-babasına, kültürel kimliğine, dil ve değerlerine, çocuğun yaşadığı veya geldiği menşe ülkenin ulusal değerlerine ve kendisinininkinden farklı uygarlıklara saygısının geliştirilmesi;
- d. Çocuğun, anlayışı, barış, hoşgörü, cinsler arası eşitlik ve ister etnik, ister ulusal, ister dini gruplardan, isterse yerli halktan olsun, tüm insanlar arasında dostluk ruhuyla, özgür bir toplumda, yaşantıyı, sorumlulukla üstlenecek şekilde hazırlanması;
- e. Doğal çevreye saygısının geliştirilmesi.

Bu maddenin veya 28’inci maddenin hiçbir hükmü gerçek ve tüzel kişilerin öğretim kurumları kurmak ve yönetmek özgürlüğüne, bu maddenin 1 inci fıkrasında belirtilen ilkelere saygı gösterilmesi ve bu kurumlarda yapılan eğitimin Devlet tarafından konulmuş olan asgari kurallara uygun olması koşuluyla, aykırı sayılacak biçimde yorumlanmayacaktır.”

“Xal – 29

Dewletê xwedî alî , perwerdehiya zarokan wekî aresteyên armancên li jêrî, dipejirînin.

- a. Heta ku derfet hebin behreyên wan ên bedenî û zîhnî û kesatiya zarokan were bipêşxistin.
- b. Rêzdariya rêgezên pejirandî yên Peymana Neteweyên Yekbuyî, azadiyên bingehîn û mafên mirofan were bipêşxistin.
- c. Rêzdariya şaristaniyên cûda yê ji wî/wê, nîrxên neteweya welatê ku ji koka wî/wê tê, yan zarok tê de dijî, nîrxên wan, ziman û çanda wan , dê û bavê wan were bipêşxistin.
- d. Wekheviya navbera zayendî, xweşbînî, aşî û ferasetê , çi etnîkî, çi neteweyî, çi komên olî, çi gelên binecih bin, di navbera hemû mirovan de bi ruhekî dostanî, jiyaneke di civakeke azad de bi şeweyeke hilgirtineke berpirsiyariyê zarok werin amadekirin.
- e. Rêzdariya derdora xwezayî ya wan werin pêşxistin.

Tî hukumekî vê xalê û xala 28’emîn ji bo avakirin û serbestiya birêvebirina saziyên hîndekariyê yên şexsên hikmî û hukûkî, ku di vê benda 1’emîn ya nîşandana rêz û hurmeta rêgezan ku hatiye diyarkirin, û hîndekariyên ku di van saziyan de, ji aliyê dewletê ve hatiye danîn û bi şert û mercên bi kaîdeyên herî kêr re lihevhatî û wekî nelirê were hesabandin divê neyê şîrovekirin.”

“Madde-30

Soya, dine ya da dile dayalı azınlıkların ya da yerli halkların varolduğu Devletlerde, böyle bir azınlığa mensup olan ya da yerli halktan olan çocuk, ait olduğu azınlık topluluğunun diğer üyeleri ile birlikte kendi kültüründen yararlanma, kendi dinine inanma ve uygulama ve kendi dilini kullanma hakkından yoksun bırakılamaz.” Her iki uluslar arası andlaşmadaki eğitim hakkına ilişkin bu hükümlere Türkiye tarafından ihtirazi kayıt (çekince) konulduğundan bu hükümlerin uygulanamayacağını ileri sürmektedir.

“ Xal – 30

Dewletên xwedî kêmarên ku bi zimên an bi ol û nijadê ve têkildar de, an dewletên gelên binecih di hundirê xwe de di hewîne de, zarokên ji gelên binecih an mensûbê kêmarên wisa, bi endamên din yê civakên kêmar ên xwe re di derbarê sêdgirtina çanda xwe, bawerkirin û pêkanîna ola xwe û bikaranîna zimanê xwe de bêpar û mehrûm nayê hiştin.”

Di derbarê van her du hukmên peymanên navneteweyî yê mafê hîndekariyê de ji ber ku ji aliyê Tirkiyê ve qeydên îtrazî û nepejirandinê (çekince) hatiye danîn, tê derpêşkirin ku van hukuman nayên pêkanîn.

2) YABANCI DİL EĞİTİMİ VE ÖĞRETİMİ KANUNU :

(Kanunun 3/8/2002 tarih ve 4771 sayılı kanun ile Yabancı Dil Eğitimi ve Öğretimi ile Türk Vatandaşlarının Farklı Dil ve Lehçelerinin Öğrenilmesi Hakkında Kanunu olarak değiştirilmiştir.)

2923 sayılı kanunun 2. maddesinin a bendinin 1. cümlesi 2003 yılında yapılan değişikliğe rağmen Kürtçeye ilişkin temel yasaklama ve kısıtlama korunmuştur. Anılan bentte *“Eğitim ve öğretim kurumlarında, Türk vatandaşlarına Türkçeden başka hiçbir dil, ana dilleri olarak okutulamaz ve öğretilemez.”* ifadesi yer almaktadır. Anayasanın 42. maddesindeki düzenleme buraya aynı şekilde alınmıştır. Anayasa değişikliği veya daha doğrusu yeni bir anayasanın hazırlanmasından sonra bu düzenlemenin kaldırılması gerekir. Aksi halde bu hükmün devamındaki *“Ancak, Türk vatandaşlarının günlük yaşamlarında geleneksel olarak kullandıkları farklı dil ve lehçelerin öğrenilmesi için, Özel Öğretim Kurumları Kanunu hükümlerine tâbi olmak üzere özel kurslar açılabilir; bu kurslarda ve diğer dil kurslarında aynı maksatla dil dersleri oluşturulabilir.”* Düzenlemesinin ve 2/3/2014 tarih ve 6529 sayılı Kanunun 11. Maddesiyle eklenen *“Ayrıca, Özel Öğretim Kurumları Kanunu hükümlerine tabi olmak üzere, Türk vatandaşlarının günlük yaşamlarında geleneksel olarak kullandıkları farklı dil ve lehçelerle eğitim ve öğretim yapmak amacıyla, özel okul açılabilir. Bu kurumlarda eğitimi ve öğretimi yapılacak dil ve lehçeler Bakanlar Kurulu kararıyla tespit edilir. Bu kurumların açılmasına ve denetimine ilişkin esas ve usuller, Millî Eğitim Bakanlığınca çıkarılacak yönetmelikle düzenlenir.”* İfadelerinin pratik bir anlamı kalmayacaktır. Bu düzenlemeyle de Kürtçe ifadesi yer almamış, *“günlük yaşamda kullanılan farklı dil ve lehçe”* terimleriyle ifade edilmiştir. Bundan ayrı olarak yabancı dil öğrenimi kapsamında değerlendirilmiştir.

Asıl önemli mesele bu düzenlemeyi takip eden b) bendindeki *“b) İlköğretim, ortaöğretim ve yaygın eğitim kurumlarında, Atatürkçü düşünce, Atatürk ilke ve inkılaplarını konu olarak alan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti İnkılap Tarihi ve Atatürkçülük, Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı, Tarih,*

2) ZAGONA HİNDEKARÎ Û PERWERDEHIYA ZIMANÊ BIYANÎ

(Zagona bi hejmara 4771 û bi dîroka 03/08/2002'an,wek Zagona Di Derbarê Hînkirina Zimên û Zaravayên Cûda Yên Hemwelatîyên Tirk û Hîndekarî û Perwerdehiya Zimanê Biyanî hatiye guhertin)

Di gel hevoka 1'emin a benda a yê ya xala 2'emîn a zagona hejmara 2923'an, di sala 2003'an de guhertin çêbûye jî, kê mîştin û qedexa kirina sereke ya pêwendîdarê zimanê Kurdî hatiye parastin. Di bendê de, îfadeya : *“Di sazîyên hîndekarî û perwerdehiyê de, ji xeynê Tirkî, ti ziman wekî zimanê dayîka wan ji bo hemwelatîyên Tirk nayê danxwendin û hînkirin.”* hatiye bi cihkirin.

Rêk û pêk kirina xala 42'emîn a makezagonê li vir bi heman şewazê hatiye girtin û parastin. Guhertina makezagonê yan bi rastî, piştî amadekariya makezagonêke din, divê ev sazîkirin bihata rakirin, hekena di domahîka vê hukumê de *“Ancax, Ji bo hînkirina ziman û zaravayên cûda ku hemwelatîyên Tirk, di kevneşopîyên jiyana xwe yê rojane de bikartînin, bi şertê ku pêgirtîyê (tab'î) Hukumên Zagona Sazîyên Perwerdehi yê Arizî (Taybet) bibe, qursên taybet dikare veke; di van qursan û qursên zimên ên din de bi heman armancê dersên zimên dikare pêk bîne.”*

Lêzêdekirina xala 11'emin a zagona hejmara 6529'an û dîroka (mêjuya) 02/03/2014'an û verastkirinê de *“Wekî din, bi şertê ku tab'î Hukumên Zagona Sazîyên Hîndekarî yê Taybet bibe. Bi armanca hînkirin û perwerdekirina bi ziman û zaravayên cûda ku hemwelatîyên Tirk di kevneşopîya jiyana xwe ya rojane de bikartînin, dibistanên taybet dikarin vekin. Ziman û zaravayên ku di van sazîyan de dê were bikaranîn bi biryarên Lijneya Wezaretê tên diyarkirin. Ûsul û esasên di derbarê venêrîn û vekirina van sazîyan, bi rêvebername ya ku ji aliyê Wezareta Perwerdehî Ya Neteweyî, tê rêk û pêk kirin”* Ti wateya van îfadeyan dê nemîne.

Di vê sazîkirinê de îfade û peyva Kurdî cih nehatiye girtin û nehatiye bi lêv kirin. Bi têgehên *“ziman û zaravayên cûda ku di jiyana rojane de tên bikaranîn.”* hatiye îfadekirin û ji bilî wê jî, di nava perwerdehiya zimanê biyanî de hatiye nixandin.

Problema giring ya asil, benda b'yê ya domahîka vê rêk û pêk kirinê ye.

“b) Di sazîyên perwerdehiya belave û hîndekariya navîn û hîndekariya seretayî de mijara ku înkîlab û rêgezên Atatürk û fikir û

Coğrafya, Sosyal Bilgiler, Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi dersleri ve Türk Kültürüyle ilgili diğer dersler; yabancı dille okutulamaz ve öğretilemez. Öğrencilere, eğitim ve öğretimleri süresince bu derslerle ilgili araştırma görevleri ve ödevler, Türkçeden başka hiçbir dille yaptırılamaz.” Düzenlemesidir. Bu sınırlama Özel Öğretim Kurumları Kanunu uyarınca açılacak özel okullarda anadilde eğitimi ve öğretimin yapılmasını da kadük hale getirmektedir. Sadece matematik ve fen dersleri Kürtçe verilebilecektir.

3) MİLLÎ EĞİTİM TEMEL KANUNU :

Temel eğitime ilişkin düzenlemelerin tümünde ideolojik yüklemenin yoğun olduğu görülmektedir. Bu düzenlemelerin öngördüğü eğitim ve öğretim sistemiyle özgür, yaratıcı ve sorumlu bireyler yetiştirmek olanaklı değildir. Bu hükümler değişik kanunlarda bulunmaktadır. Bunlardan biri de Milli Eğitim Temel Kanununun 20. maddesindeki **“Çocukların Türkçeyi doğru ve güzel konuşmalarını sağlamaktır.”** düzenlemesidir. Benzer hüküm Okul Öncesi Eğitim Kurumları Yönetmeliği’nin 6 ve 7. maddelerinde de bulunmaktadır. İlköğretim öğrenci andı da kapsayıcı olmaktan uzak ayrımcı ve ideolojik yüklemelerle dolu bir metindir. Kürt çocuklarını her gün inciten onları dışlayan andın kaldırılması gerekir.

30.03.2012 tarih ve 6287 sayılı kanun ile Milli Eğitim Temel Kanunun 25. Maddesine **“İlköğretim kurumları; dört yıl süreli ve zorunlu ilkokullar ile dört yıl süreli, zorunlu ve farklı programlar arasında tercihe imkân veren ortaokullar ile imam-hatip ortaokullarından oluşur. Ortaokullar ile imam-hatip ortaokullarında lise eğitimini destekleyecek şekilde öğrencilerin yetenek, gelişim ve tercihlerine göre seçimlik dersler oluşturulur. Ortaokul ve liselerde, Kur’an-ı Kerim ve Hz. Peygamberimizin hayatı, isteğe bağlı seçmeli ders olarak okutulur. Bu okullarda okutulacak diğer seçmeli dersler ile imam-hatip ortaokulları ve diğer ortaokullar için oluşturulacak program seçenekleri Bakanlıkça belirlenir.”** Fıkrası eklenmiştir. Ancak hükümetin Kürtçe seçmeli ders oldu kararına rağmen bu husus yasa metnine alınmayarak inisiyatif Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı’na bırakılmıştır. Yani seçmeli Kürtçe dersinin devamı veya kaldırılması hususunda yasa değişikliği değil Bakanlık kararı yeterli olacaktır. Sadece bakanlık kararı güvencesine bağlı bir seçimlik ders..

ramanên Ataturkî digirin de, wekî dersên, Ataturkî û Dîroka Înkilaba Komara Turkiyeyê, Wêje û Zimanê Tirkî, Dîrok, Cografya, Zanistên Civakî, Zanista Ehlaq û Çanda Olî û hemû dersên din ên bi çanda Tirkî ve girêdayî bi zamanê biyanî nayê danxwendin û nayê fêrkirin. Di pêvajoyê dema perwerdehî û hindekariyê de di derbarê van dersan de tî peywîrên spartek û likolîn ji bilî Tirkî, bi zmanêke din nayê dayîn û nayê kirin.” Gorî bi sînor kirina vê Zagona Saziyên Hindekariya Taybet, di dibistanên taybet ên ku tî vekiirin de hindekarî û perwerdehiya bi zimanê dayîkê di şewazeke qels û lawaz de dimîne. Hew dersên matematîk û fenê bi zimanê Kurdî tî dayîn.

3)ZAGONA BINGEHÎN A PERWERDEHIYA NETEWÊYÎ:

Di hemû bikeyskirina di derbarê perwerdehiya bingehîn de bi giranî barkirina bîrdozî tî dîtin. Bi vê pergela hindekarî û perwerdehiya, ku ev sazîkirin derpêş dike, gihandina takekesên berpirsiyar, afrîner û azad ne pêkan e. Ev hukûm di zagonên cûr bi cûr de hene. Ji wan yek jî di xala 20’êmin a Zagona Bingehîn a Perwerdehiya Neteweyî de **“Zarok bibin xwedî axaftineke rast û sipehî a bi Tirkî were temînkirin . hatiye sazîkirin. Herwiha, hukûmekî din ku dişibe hev, di xala 6 û 7 ‘êmin a birêvebirnameya Saziyên Perwerdehiya Pêşdibistanan de tî dîtin.**

Sondnameya xwendekaran ya dibistana seretayî jî, ji girtina navxweyî dûr e, metneke bi lêbarkirina bîrdozî û cûdîyê dagirtiye. Ev sondnameya ku her roj zarokên Kurd diêşînin û wan red dikin divê were rakirin.

Xala 25’êmin a Zagona Bingehîn A Perwerdehiya Neteweyî û zagona bi hejmara 6287’an û bi dîroka 30.03.2012’an ;

“Saziyên Hindekariya Seretayî; bi domdariya çar salan û ji dibistanên seretayî yê mecbûrî û dibistanên navîn û dibistanên navîn ên îmam-xetîb ên ku derfetê hîlbijartina di navbera bernameyên cûda dide pêk tî. Di dibistana navîn û Dibistanên Navîn ên ‘Îmam-xetîb de ji dersên gorî hîlbijartin û pêşveçuyîna wan, qabîliyet(behre) ya xwendekaran, bi şewazeke piştgirî bide perwerdehiya lîseyê pêk tî. Di dibistana navîn û lîseyê de dersa Kuran-î Kerîm û jîyana Hz. Muhamed wek dersên hîlbijarî gorî daxwaza xwendekaran tî dayîn. Dersên hîlbijarî yê din ku di van dibistanan de tî xwendin û hîlbijartinên bernameyan ku ji bo van dibistanên navîn ên îmam-xetîb û distanên navîn ên din ji aliyê wezaretê ve tî diyarkirin.” Ev bend lê hatiye

4) ÖZEL ÖĞRETİM KURUMLARI KANUNU : Yabancı dil eğitim ve öğretimi kanunu özel öğretim kurumları kanununa göre açılacak özel okullarda başka dillerde eğitim ve öğretim yapılacağını düzenlediğinden anılan yasadaki düzenlemeye bakmakta yarar var.

8/2/2007 tarihli ve 5580 sayılı Özel Öğretim Kurumları Kanunun 1. Maddesinde amacı şu şekilde tanımlanmıştır. “**Amaç ve kapsam MADDE 1 – Bu Kanunun amacı, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti uyruklu gerçek kişiler, özel hukuk tüzel kişileri veya özel hukuk hükümlerine göre yönetilen tüzel kişiler tarafından açılacak özel öğretim kurumlarına kurum açma izni verilmesi, kurumun nakli, devri, personel çalıştırılması, kurumlara yapılacak malî destek ve bu kurumların eğitim-öğretim, yönetim, denetim ve gözetimi ile yabancılar tarafından açılmış bulunan özel öğretim kurumlarının; eğitim-öğretim, yönetim, denetim, gözetim ve personel çalıştırılmasına ilişkin usûl ve esasları düzenlemektir.**

Bu Kanun, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti uyruklu gerçek kişiler, özel hukuk tüzel kişileri veya özel hukuk hükümlerine göre yönetilen tüzel kişilerce açılan özel öğretim kurumları ile yabancılar tarafından açılmış bulunan özel öğretim kurumlarını kapsar.”

“ Kurum açma izni

MADDE 3 – Bir kurumda öğretime başlayabilmek için kurum açma izni alınması zorunludur.

İzin başvuruları ilgili millî eğitim müdürlüğüne yapılır.

Valilikçe yapılan inceleme sonucunda açılması uygun görülen okullar dışındaki kurumlara kurum açma izni verilir.

Valilikçe açılması uygun görülen okullara ilişkin başvurular ise kurum açma izni verilmek üzere Bakanlığa gönderilir.

Kurum açma izni talebinin valilikçe reddedilmesi hâlinde, kurucu veya kurucu temsilcisi tarafından taleplerinin reddine ilişkin işlemin tebliğinden itibaren onbeş iş günü içinde Bakanlığa itirazda bulunulabilir.

İtiraz, Bakanlıkça onbeş iş günü içinde karara bağlanır.

Kurum açma izni alınmadıkça, kuruma öğrenci kaydı yapılamaz.

Kurum açma izni verilmesi, binanın kullanılış amaçlarına ve Bakanlıkça belirlenen standartlara uygun ve yeterli bulunmasıyla

zêdekirin. Lê belê, di gel biryara hukumetê ya Zimanê Kurdî bû dursa hilbajarî heye jî, ev xusûs di nava metna zagonê de nehatiye bicihkirin. Înîsiyatîf daye Wezaretê Perwerdehiya Neteweyî. Ango, di derbarê rakirin û berdehamiya dursa Kurdî ya hilbajarî de di zagonê de guhertin nehatiye çêkirin. Hew qîm bi biryara wezaretê hanîne. Yanî, derseke hilbajarî ya hew di bin ewlehiya wezaretê de ye.

4)ZAGONA SAZİYÊN HİNDEKARIYÊ YÊN ARIZÎ (TAYBET)

Ji bona ku birêvebirina hindekarî û perwerdehiya bi zimanên din, di dibistanên taybet ku tê vekirin de gorî zagona saziyên hindekarî yên taybet a zagona hindekarî û perwerdehiya zimanê biyanî hatiye sazîkirin pêwîst e li zagona ku behsa mijarê ye were nihirtin.

Armanca di Xala 1’emîn a Zagona Saziyên Hindekarî yên Taybet, hejmara 5580 û bi dîroka 08/02/2007’an de, bi vê şewazê hatiye ravekirin.

Naverok û armanc,

XAL 1 – Armanca vê zagonê, rêk û pêk kirina, destûrdayîna vekirina wê, ûsûl û esasên di derbarê xebitandina xebatkarên wê, çawdêrî, venêrînerî, birêvebirin, hindekar û perwerdehiya van saziyan û piştgiyariya aborî ya ku ji van saziyan re tê kirin, dîsa xebitandina xebatkaran, veguhêztêna saziyê, destûrdayîna vekirina saziyê ya saziyên perwerdehiya taybet ku ji aliyê kesên hukûkî(tuzel) ve were vekirin û ji aliyê hukmên hukûka taybet ve were birêvebirin, an jî, kesên hukûkî yên hukûka taybet, kesên rasteqîn yên tebayê(rajêra) Komara Tirkîyê ye.

“Ev sazî, saziyên hindekariyê yên taybet ku ji aliyê biyaniyan ve tên vekirin û dîsa saziyên hindekariyê yên ji aliyê kesên tuzel (hukûkî) tên vekirin û bi gorî hukmên hukûka taybet tên birêvebirin, kesên rasteqîn yên tebayên Komara Tirkîyê ne, di nava xwe de di hewînê an di hundirînê.”

Destûra vekirina saziyê

XAL 3 - Ji bo di saziyekê de perwerde were destpêkirin destûrgirtina vekirina saziyê pêwîst e.

Ji bo destûrê serî li muduriyeta perwerdehiya neteweyî tên dayîn.

Piştî lêkolîna walîtiyê, dibistanên vekirina wan guncan were dîtîn destûra vekirinê tên dayîn.

Serlêdana di derbarê dibistanên guncan dîtî ya jo bo vekirinê, ji aliyê walîtiyê ve ji bo vekirina saziyê ji wezaretê re tê şiyandin.

Heke daxwaza destûra sazî vekirinê ji aliyê walîtiyê ve were redkirin, damezrîner an nûnerê damezrîner, di navbera 15 rojên xebatê de, di

birlikte aşağıdaki şartların yerine getirilmesine bağlıdır:

- a) Ders araç-gerecinin kurumun amaç ve ihtiyaçları için yeterli olduğunun bir rapor ile tespit edilmesi.
- b) Kurumun; yönetici, öğretmen ve diğer personelinin sayı ve nitelikleri yönünden uygun bulunması ve bu kurumda çalışacaklarının belgelendirilmesi.
- c) Kurumun yönetmelikleriyle öğretim programının Bakanlıkça incelenip onanmış olması. (Değişik beşinci fıkra: 1/3/2014-6528/10 md.) Bu Kanun kapsamındaki ilkokul, ortaokul, lise ve özel eğitim okulları için 1 Eylül tarihinden sonra verilen kurum açma izinleri, ertesi eğitim-öğretim yılından itibaren geçerlidir. Kurumlara ad verilmesine ilişkin esaslar yönetmelikle belirlenir. Gerçek ve tüzel kişiler tarafından; hizmet içi eğitim kapsamına giren faaliyetler dışında Kanun kapsamında belirtilen faaliyetler, bu Kanuna göre yetkili makamlardan kurum açma izni alınmadan yapılamaz. Askerî okullar, emniyet teşkilâtına bağlı okullar ve din eğitimi-öğretimi yapan kurumların aynı veya benzeri özel öğretim kurumları açamaz.

(Ek fıkra: 25/11/2010-6082/19 md.) 10/7/2004 tarihli ve 5216 sayılı Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kanununun 7 nci maddesinin birinci fıkrasının (d) bendi, 3/7/2005 tarihli ve 5393 sayılı Belediye Kanununun 15 inci maddesinin birinci fıkrasının (c) bendi ile 22/2/2005 tarihli ve 5302 sayılı İl Özel İdaresi Kanununun 7 nci maddesinin birinci fıkrasının (a) bendinde belirtilen izin veya ruhsatlar, bu Kanun kapsamındaki özel öğretim kurumlarını kapsamaz. Özel öğretim kurumları mevzuatına uygun olmak kaydıyla işyeri açma ve çalışma ruhsatı Bakanlıkça verilir. Bakanlık bu yetkisini valiliklere devredebilir.

(Ek fıkra: 1/3/2014-6528/10 md.) Her ne ad altında olursa olsun, eğitim ve öğretim sunmak amacıyla yürütülen faaliyetler Bakanlığın izin ve denetimine tabidir. Bu faaliyetleri yürütenler, özel öğretim kurumları için bu Kanunda öngörülen kurallara uymakla yükümlüdür.”

Özel öğretim kurumlarını ancak T.C. vatandaşı gerçek kişiler ve özel hukuk tüzel kişileri açabilirler.

derheqê kirariya redkirina daxwazên xwe de dikare ji bo îtirazê serî li wezaretê bide.

Di derbarê îtirazê de, di nava 15 rojên xebatê de ji aliyê wezaretê ve biryar tê dayîn. Heta ku destûra vekirina saziyê neyê sendin, ji bo saziyê qeydên xwendekaran nayê girtin.

Bilî dayîna destura vekirinê ya saziyê , armanca bikaranînê ya avahiyê û lihevhatin û têrkirina standartên ku ji aliyê wezaretê ve hatiye diyarkirî , bicihkirina şert û mercê li jêrî ve girêdayî ye. Divê van şertan were bicihkirin.

a) Ji bo têrkirina pêwistî û armancên saziyê yê alaf û amûran bi raporekê divê were tespîtîkirin.

b) Ji aliyê hêjahî (kalîteyê) û hejmarên xebatkarên din û, mamoste û rêvebirên saziyê divê guncan be û divê xebatkarên vê saziyê bi belgeyan were diyarkirin.

c) Bernameyên hîndekariyê û birêvebirnameya saziyê divê ji aliyê Wezaretê ve hatibe lêkolînkirin û pesendîkirin(erêkirin) (xala 6528/10 – 01/03/2014’an, benda(fıkra) pencemîn ya guherde). Ji bo dibistanên perwerdehî yê taybet û lîse, dibistana navîn, dibistana seretaîyî ku di nava vê zagonê de tîn vehewandin, piştî 1’ê Îlonê, destûrdayîna vekirina saziyê, ji bo sala hîndekarî û perwerdehiya dotirê şûn de derbasdar e. Esasên di derbarê navlêkirina saziyan bi birêvebirnameyan tîn diyarkirin.

Ji bilî çalakiyên ku dikevin naveroka perwerdehiya navxweyî ya xizmetê ku ji aliyê kesên hukmî û rasteqîn ve tîn kirin, gorî vê zagonê, destûra vekirina saziyê ji meqamê pêwendîdar neyê sendin nayên pêkanîn. Dibistanên leşkerî, dibistanên girêdayîyê rêxistinên ewlehiyê û saziyên hîndekarî û perwerdehiya olî dikin nikarin heman dibistan û dibistanên dişibin wana, wekin.

(Benda pêvek: xala 6082/19 – 25/11/2010)

Benda (d)yê, ya fiqiraya yekemîn a xala 7’emîn a Zagona Şaredariya Bajarê mezin hejmara 5216 û dîroka 10/07/2004, herwiha benda (c)’yê ya fiqira yekemîn, xala 15’emîn a Zagona Şaredariyê, hejmara 5393’yan û diroka 03/07/2005’an, disa di benda (a) ‘yê, ya fiqira yekemîn a xala 7’emîn a Zagona Îdareya Arizî Ya Bajêr, hejmara 5302 û dîroka 22/02/2005’an de rûhsat û destûr hatiye dîyarkirin, saziyên hîndekariyê yê arizî ku di vê zagonê de cih digirin venahewîne. Bi şert û şûrtên ku bi mewzûata saziyên hîndekarî yê arizî ve lihevhatî bin, ruhsata xebatê û vekirina kargehê ji aliyê wezaretê ve tê dayîn. Wezaret dikare raya xwe radestî walîtiyan bike.

(Fiqiraya pêvek: xal 6528/10 – 01/03/2014) Di bin çî navî de dibe bila bibê, çalakiyên bi armanca

Yani kamu kurumları özel öğretim kurumu açamazlar. Bu açıdan bakıldığında yerel yönetimler Kürtçe eğitim yapan özel kurum açamazlar. Özel öğretim kurumu açma izni ayrıca yönetmelikle ayrıntılı olarak düzenlenerek çok sıkı koşullara tabi kılınmıştır. Anayasa zorunlu olmasına karşın devlet vermesi gereken temel eğitimi Kürtlerin özel kurumlarda ve ücret ödeyerek almalarını istemektedir.

DİLE İLİŞKİN DİĞER KISITLAMALAR :

1) 5442 SAYILI İL İDARESİ KANUNU :

“Kürt Sorunu” nun çözümü konusunda ilk akla gelen değişiklik bölgede isimleri değiştirilen yerleşim yerleri ve coğrafi alanların eski isimlerinin iadesi hususudur.

5442 sayılı İl İdare Kanununun da 11.05.1959 tarih ve 7267 sayılı kanunla yapılan değişiklikle kanunun 2. maddesine *“Ancak; Türkçe olmayan ve iltibasa meydan veren köy adları, alakadar Vilayet Daimi Encümeninin mütalaası alındıktan sonra, en kısa zamanda Dahiliye Vekaletince değiştirilir.”* Hükümünü içeren fıkra eklenmiştir. Bu hüküm 2/3/2014 tarih ve 6529 sayılı kanun ile yürürlükten kaldırılmıştır. Ancak 55 yıl süreyle uygulanan bu kanun maddesi uyarınca neredeyse tüm yerleşim yerleri ve coğrafi alanların adları değiştirilmiştir. Eski isimlerin ne şekilde geri verileceği yönünde bir düzenleme yapılmayarak bu konu belirsiz kalmıştır.

2) SOYADI KANUNU :

Vatandaşlığa yeni alınanlar dışında yeni soyadı alınması söz konusu olmamakla birlikte, mevcut soyadlarının yargı kararıyla değiştirilmek istenmesi halinde 21 Haziran 1934 tarih ve 2525 sayılı Soyadı Kanununun 3. maddesindeki **“Rütbe ve memuriyet, aşiret ve yabancı ırk ve millet isimleriyle umumi edeplere uygun olmayan veya iğrenç ve gülünç olan soyadları kullanılamaz.”** düzenlemesi Kürtçe soyadlarının alınmasına engel olarak yorumlanmaya açık bir düzenlemedir. Böyle de yorumlanıp uygulanmaktadır.

dayîn û pêşkêşkirina hîndekarî û perwerdehî tîn birêvebirin, tabîê destûr û venêrîneriya Wezaretê ye. Kesên ku ji bo saziyên perwerdehiya taybet ev çalakiyan birêve dibin pêwiste tabîê qaîdeyên ku di van zagonanan de tîn derpêşkirin bibin.

Saziyên perwerdehiya taybet, ancax ji aliyê kesên hukmî(tuzel) yê huquqa taybet û kesên rasteqîn yê hemwelatîyên T.C' yê dikare wekin. Ango saziyên gelemperî (qamû) nikarin saziyên perwerdehiyê yê arizî wekin.. Dema mirov di vê çarçowê de lê dinêre kargêriyên (rêveberiyên) cihkî nikare saziyên taybet ên bi Kurdî perwerde didin wekin. Ji bilî vê, destûra vekirina saziya perwerdehi ya taybet, bi birêvebirnameyan, bi hûrgilî hatiyê rêk û pêk kirin û bi şert û şûrtên giran ve hatiye girêdan. Di gel, di zagonê de dayîna perwerdehiya bingehîn bê pere û mecbûriye jî, ancax Kurd bi peran di saziyên taybet de dikarin perwerdehiya bingehîn bibînin.

ASTENGIYÊN DIN

ÊN DI DERBARÊ ZIMÊN DE:

1)ZAGONA ÎDAREYA BAJÊR A HEJMARA 5442 :

Dema behsa çareserkirina pirsgerêka Kurd tê kirin, di serî de mijara lêwegerandina navên kevn û navên qadên erdnîgariyê û cih û warên cihnişînan ên ku li heremên cûr bi cûr navên wan hatibûn guhertin, tîn hişê mirov.

Xala 2' emîn a zagonê, ku bi zagona hejmara 7267 'an û di 11/05/1959' an de, di zagona îdareya bajêr, hejmara 5442 de guhertin hatibû çêkirin.

“ Ancax navên gundên, ji berku ne Tirkî ne û bûne sedemên tevliheviyê, pişfî girtina mutalaya Encûmenê Domdar ê Wilayetê, di demeke kintirîn de ji aliyê Wekaletiya Hundirîn ve (Wekaleta Dahîliyê) tîn guhertin.” Fiqiraya vî hukmê di hundirîne lê hatiyê zêdekirin. Ev hukum, bi zagona hejmara 6529 û bi dîroka 02/03/2014' an ji meriyê hatiyê rakirin. Ancax, gorî ev zagona ku bû 55 sal in tîn pêkanîn hema hema hemû navên qadên erdnîgarî, cih û warên cihnişînan hatine guhertin. Van navên kevn bi çî şewazî li wan were vegeandin, di vî warî de verastkirinek nehatiye kirin. Ji bo wê mijar ne diyar û ne zelal e.

2)ZAGONA PAŞNAVÎ

Ji bilî kesên ku ji nû ve ji bo hemwelatîyê were girtin, di gel girtina pašnavê nû ne mijara gotinê be jî, di rewşa ku daxwaza guhertina bi biryara mahkemê ya

3) SOYADI TÜZÜĞÜ :

1934 tarihli Soyadı Tüzüğü yıllar içinde birçok değişikliğe uğramıştır. En son yapılan kapsamlı değişiklik Bakanlar Kurulu'nun 25.03.2009 tarihli kararıyla yapılmıştır. Bu değişiklik Resmi Gazete'nin 27214 numaralı sayısında yayınlanarak yürürlüğe girmiştir. Ancak kapsamlı olmasına karşın Tüzüğün 5. maddesindeki **“Yeni takılan soyadları Türk dilinden alınır.”** hükmü korunmuştur. Bu hüküm nedeniyle Türk Dili dışında Kürt Dilinde soyadı almak olanağı bulunmamaktadır.

Soyadı Tüzüğü'nün 7. maddesi **“Yabancı ırk ve millet isimleri soyadı olarak kullanılamaz.”** 8. maddesi ise **“Bir aşirete veya kabileye ilişik anlatan soyadları kullanılamaz ve yeniden takılamaz.”** düzenlemesini taşımaktadır. Bu düzenlemeler nedeniyle bir kişinin mensup olduğu çevresinde bilindiği aile ismini soyadı olarak kullanılması olanaksızdır.

4) 1353 SAYILI KANUN VE HARF SORUNU :

1353 sayılı Türk Harflerinin Kabul ve Tatbiki Hakkında Kanununun “Bu Kanunun neşri tarihinden itibaren Devletin bütün daire ve müesseselerinde ve bilcümle şirket, cemiyet ve hususi müesseselerde Türk harfleriyle yazılmış olan yazıların kabulü ve muameleye konulması mecburidir.” düzenlemesini içeren 2. maddesi ile gazete, dergi ve kitapların Türk harfleriyle basılması ve yazılmasının mecburi olduğuna hükmeden 4. maddesi halen yürürlüktedir.

Ayrıca yasanın kendisinde aksine davranış bir yaptırıma bağlanmamış iken 5237 sayılı Türk Ceza Kanunu'nun 222. maddesi ile bu kanuna aykırı davranış için cezai yaptırıma bağlanmış idi. Ceza hükmü 2/3/2014 tarih ve 6529 sayılı kanun ile yürürlükten kaldırılmıştır. Ancak buna rağmen Türkçe alfabede bulunmayan ve Kürtçe alfabedeki harflerin resmi yazışmalarda kullanımı önündeki engel devam etmektedir. Örneğin, Bawer ismi kayıtlara Bayer, Jêhat adı Jehat olarak yazılacaktır. Bu sorun bakımından da yapılması gereken, Türkçede olmayan sesleri Türk alfabesine eklemek değildir. Olması gereken, Türkçede olmayan seslere ait harflerin kullanımını yasaklayan düzenlemeleri yürürlükten kaldırmaktır.

paşnavên heyî de, di xala 3'emîn a zagona paşnavî ya hejmara 2525'an û dîroka 21 Hezîran 1934'an de **“ paşnavên pêkenok, xerab û bi edebîya giştî re ne lihevhatî, navên netewe û nîjat ên biyanî û navê êl (eşîr), karrmend û rutbeyan nayên bikaranîn.”**

Ev gotin û sazkirin, sazkirineke ji şîroveya pêşilêgirtin û bikaranîna paşnavên Kurdî re vekirîye. Her tim jî bi vî awayî hatiye şîrovekirin û sepandin.

3)RÊZIKNAMEYA PAŞNAVÎ :

Rêziknameya paşnavî ya dîroka 1934'an, din ava salan de gelekcaran hatiye guhertin. Guhertina berfireh ku herî dawî hatiye kirin, bi biryara dîroka 25/03/2009'an, a Lijneya Wezaretan ve hatiye kirin. Ev guhertin, di hejmara numreya 27214'an a Rojnameya Fermî de hatiye weşandin û ketiyê meriyetê. Her çikas berfireh be jî di xala 5'emîn ya rêziknameyê de, hukmê **“ Paşnavê tê lêkirin ji zimanê Tirkî tê girtin.”** hatiye parastin. Bi sedema vî hukmê, ji bilî Zimanê Tirkî, derfetê girtina paşnavên bi Zimanê Kurdî tune ye.

Xala 7'emîn a Rêziknameya Paşnavî, rêk û pêk kirina **“ Navê netewe û nijadên biyanî ji bo paşnavî nayê bikaranîn.”** Xala 8'emîn jî, **“ Paşnavê pêwendiyê qabile an jî êlekê vebêje nayê bikaranîn û ji nû ve nayê lêkirin.”** hil girtiye, Ji bo van sedeman, kesekî/ê navê malbateke naskirî ya der û dora xwe ku mensûbê wî ye, nepêkane ku bikarbîne.

4)PIRSGIRÊKA TÎPAN Û ZAGONA 1353 :

Zagona di Derbarê Sepandin û Pejirandina Tîpên Tirkî ya hejmara 1353'an de, **“ Piştî dîroka weşandina vê zagonê, di hemû sazî û dezgeyên taybet û cemiyet, şirket bi tevayî û hemû sazî û dezge û daîreyên dewletê de danîna muameleyê û pejirandina nivîsên ku bi tîpên Tirkî hatiye nivîsîn mecbûrî ye.”** Ev sazkirina ku xala 2'emîn di hundirine, her wiha xala 4'emîn ku hukmê mecbûr bûna nivîsandinê û çapkirinê ya bi tîpên Tirkî ya pirtûk, kowar û rojnameyan dide, hê jî di meriyetê de ye.

Ji xeynê wê, her çikas tewgera belovacî di zagonê bi xwe de mûeyîdeyekê nehatîyê girêdan jî, ji bo tevgera dijî vê zagonê û xala 222'emîn a Zagona Cezaya Tirk, hejmara 5237'an mûeyîdeya cezayî hatibû girêdan. Ancax di gel vê, astengiyên li pêşiya bikaranîna jihevrenivîsîn ên fermî yên bi tîpên di elfabeya Kurdî de û ên di elfabeya Tirkî de nînin didomin. Wek mînak : Navê BAWER, di qeydan de

	BAVER, navê JÊHAT wek JEHAT divê were nivisandin. Ev pîrsgirêk, dengên di Tirkî de tuneye divê li elfabeya Tirkî were lêzêdekirin nîne. Tiştê ku divê were kirin, sazîkirinê qedexyên bikaranîna tîpên aidên dengên di Tirkî de tunene divê ji meriyetê were rakirin e.
--	---

AMADEKAR Û WERGERA JI TIRKÎ BER BÎ KURDÎ
MAMOSTE BERJENG BRAHÎM 04/05/2015

DI DERBARÊ DIBISTANA GEL DE

1-Dibistanên gel yê defakto di heman demê de li Amed, li Cizîr û Geverê hat vekirin. Her sê dibistan jî di heman demê de hatin vekirin. Dibistanên heyî paşê hatin zêde kirin. Li navenda Amedê 3 dibistan û pêşdibistan, li navçeyên Amedê li Farqînê, li Licê, li Bismilê, li Pasûrê jî pey re hatin vekirin. Li bajarên din ê jî peyder pey hatin vekirin. Li Agiriyê, li Wanê, li Sêrtê, li Mêrdînê, li Êlihê, li Bedlîsê, li Şîrnexê û li hinek navçeyên din jî him pêşdibistan û him jî dibistan hatin vekirin.

Li hinek bajaran civîn bi gelan re hatin kirin. Li gorî van civînan daxwazên gel ew bû ku pêşî li Amed, li Cizîr û Geverê dibistan werin vekirin. Di heman demê de ji aliyê aboriyê de jî ji ber ku em di nav tengasiyekê de bûn, li gorî derfetên me, di serî de, bi tenê li van her sê ciyan dibistan hatin vekirin. Ji van dibistanan 2 dibistan hêj çalak in. Ên din ji aliyê dewletê ve hatiye girtin.

2-Pirsgirêkên ku li pêşiya zimanê zikmakî gellek in. Lê pirsgirêka herî mezin nêzîkatiya dewletê bi xwe ye. Dewleta Tirkiyeyê bi salane siyaseta pişaftinê li ser kurdan dimeşîne. Pişaftina herî giran jî li ser ziman û çandê hatiye meşandin. Demekê axaftina zimanê kurdî bi xwe jî hatibû qedexa kirin. Niha belkî ne di wê astê de be, lê tesîra wan deman li ser gelan niha xwe dide nîşan dan. Hê jî li hinek bajaran mirovên ku bi kurdî diaxive, yan jî muzîka kurdî guhdar dike derbên giran li wan tê xistin. Wekî ku tê zanîn kesên ku nikaribe bi zimanê xwe biaxive, û bi zimanê xwe perwerde nebîne ji aliyê afirînerî û hilberînê de kêmtir û qels dimîne. Ji aliyê derûniyê de jî pirsgirêkên giran dijî û jixwebawerîya wî tê çewisandin. Di jiyana de jî li hemberî gelek pirsgirêkan re rû bi rû dimîne. Niha jî di nav zagonên dewleta Tirkiyeyê de fermiyeta perwerdeya zimanê zikmakî tune ye.

Pirsgirêk û kêmasiyên navxweyî gellek in, wek mînak hejmarên mamosteyên dibistanên me kêmtir in. Pirtûk û amûrên dersdayînê de kêmasiyên dibistanên me hene. Û ji aliyê aboriyê ve em tengasiyên giran dijîn. Heta ji destê me tê em van pirsgirêkan di nav xwe de çareser dikin.

3-Niha li dibistanên me, pêşdibistan, pola 1 û pola 2 hene. Dersên zimanê kurdî(kurmancî, kîrmanckî,soranî..) muzîk, wêne, jiyana û hawirdor, bîrkarî, werzîşê tê dayîn. Ji xeynî dersan çalakiyên wek geşt û seyrana, şano, sînema û hwd tên li dar xistin. Dersên dibistanên me bi giştî 5 saet in, û navberên dersan jî 10 deq ne. Xwendekarên ku malê wan dûrî dibistanê ne bi servîsên dibistanê tên û diçin. Servîs û di heman demê de hemû amûr û alavên dersan li zarokan bê pere tê belav kirin. Li dibistanên me zarok bêtîr nêzî xwezayê ye. Û di nav xwezayê de dibin xwedî tecrube. Di pirtûkên me de li gorî zayenda civakî dayik li aşxanê bav li kar nayê neqş kirin. Dê û bav li malê û li derve hemû karên xwe li gorî resenî û xweserîya xwe bi hev re dikin. Peyama ku em didin zarok wekhevîya jin û mêrî ye.

Di perwerdeya me de xwendekar her tim li pêş e. Ango yê ku li navendê ye xwendekar e. Wekî pergala dewletê ne mamoste ye. Metodolojiya ku em bi kartînin jî enduksiyon(tûme varim) e. Hemû pirtûkên me li gorî vê metodolojiyê hatine amade kirin.

NIRXANDINA PERWERDEHIYA DIBISTANA FERZAD KEMANGER

- 1) Di dibistanê de hîndekarî bi zûtîr hate fêrkirin.

- 2) Zarok bi zimanê xwe yê zikmakî, bi Kurdî xwendin û nivisandin hîn bûn. Bi zimanê zikmakî him bi devkî him jî bi nivîskî xwe 'îfade dikirin.
- 3) Malbat, dê û bav, xwendekar û mamoste ji perwerdehiyê gelek dilxweş û razî bûn.
- 4) Bi feraseteke kominal materyalên dersê hate bikaranîn ji bo wê yekê xwendekar xuy û xusetê lihevparvekirinê bi dest xistin.
- 5) Di navbera mamoste û xwendekaran de ragihandineke xurt hebû û ders pir sûdwar derbas dibû.
- 6) Li dibistanê pergaleke meclîsî hebû..Di meclîsê de, 8 mamoste, 2 xebatkar bi tevayî 10 kes, 3 kes jê rêveberiya dibistanê ji aliyê meclîsê ve hatin hilbijartin. Ji bo wê yekê têkiliyên amîrî û otorîteyî hate vederkirin. Ji bo dibistaneke demokratîk gavên girîng hate avêtin.
- 7) Ji bo plansaziya serdema perwerdehiyê çalakîr û ji bo malbat tevî pêvajoyê were kirin meclîsên malbatan hate avakirin. Endamên meclîsa dibistan û malbatê di civînan de, di dîwanê de dikaribû cih bigirtana. Ji vê bonê malbat tevî pêvajoya perwerdehiyê dibû û di derbarê siberoja zarokên xwe de dibûn xwedî gotin.
- 8) : Li dibistanê mamoste ne di rewşeke otorîterî, di rewşeke rehberiyê de bû. Şîdet û pêkûtfî teqez qedexe bû. Hevpeyvînên xwendekaran jî têde, pêşveçuyîna xwebaweriyê ya xwendekaran pir girîng bû. Xwendekar dikaribû mamostê xwe jî rexne bikira.
- 9) Ji bo ku dibistan xîtabê zarokan bike, bi rengên cûr bi cûr hate boyaxkirin.
- 10) Dibistana ji bo perwerdehiya bi zimanê dayîkê hatibû vekirin di heman demê de li hemberî pergalê, xwedî feraseteke jiyanê hepar e. Jiyanê komun û alternatîf esas digire. Li dibistanê zarok bi şêweyê komxebatî dişixulin. Pênûs, jêbir, boyax, pirtûk û hemû materyalên atolyeyê û dersan li gorî pêdiviyên û bi hevparî tên bikaranîn..
- 11) Hindekarî û perwerdehi bi her hawayî bi serketî bi encam bû.

Rêveberiya Dibistana Gel

KURDÎ

JI GERÎNENDETIYA KARÊN NIVÎSAN A DADGEHA MAFÊ MÎROVAN A EWRÛPAYÊ RE

Hejmara Serîlêdanê: 1671/16

Li ser navên serîlêder Selma Irmak, Ali Erdemirci û Arîn Zumrut Karakoyunê, di dîroka 26 Adar 2016'an de, ji Brêz Dadgeha we re;

Xal 1: Mukelefiya Rêzdariya Mavê Mirovan;

Xal 6 : Mafê Hatdarizandina Adîl

Xal 7 : Ceza, Bêqanûn Nabe

Xal 8 : Rêzdariya Jiyana Arizî(Şexsî) û Malbatê

Xal 10 : Serbestiya Vegotinê

Xal 13 : Mafê Serîlêdana Bandorker

Xal 14 : Qedexeya Cûdakariyê;

Ya Peymana Mafên Mirovan a Ewrûpayê

Xal 27: Paraztina kêmeteweyan;

Xal 18 : Serbestiya ol, wîjdan û fikir û ramanê;

Xal : 4 Di rewşa awerte de, kêmkirina mukelefiyetê;

Xal 14 : Mafê hatdarizandina adîl;

Xal 26 : Li pêşberê huqûqê wekhevî;

Ya Peymana Gerdûnî Ya Di Derbarê Mafên

Siyasî û Medenî de.

Xalên 2'emîn Ya Protoqola Pêvekê A Di derbarê Parastina Azadiya Bingehîn û Mafên Mirofan de

*Hemwelatîyên Tirk yê bilî Tirkî bi zimanekî din diaxifîn ” mafên wan yê wek devkî bikaranîna zimanê xwe ” Li gorî Xala 39/5'an xusûsa hebûna zimanek fermî ya dewletê li ber çavan hatibe girtin hatiye birêkûpêkkirin **Ya Peymana Aştiyê Ya Lozanê.***

2) Ji “*Hêsanîyên li guncawê(munasibê) tîn*” qest, **di herî pêş de hindekarî û perwerdehi ye.**

3) Qesta ji “ *Zimanên xwe*”
zimanên zikmakî yê aliyan e.

4) Ji vir tê fêmkirin ku di vî warê de hîç guman nîne. Ez dixwazim bi zimanê xwe yê dayîkê Hindekarî û perwerdehiya xwe bikim. Ez bi zimanekî paşê hîn bûme, naxwazim perwerde bibînim.

6) Xal 39/5, Bi devkî be jî, zimanekî bilî Tirkî Di Komara Tirkiyeyê de yek mînamek mafê bikaranîna li daireya fermî ye. Ji bilî wê “mafek pozîtîf” ji kesên zimanê wan yê zikmakî, ku ne wekî Tirkî ye, ji Tirkî cûdatir e. (mafekî ji mafên ku piranî xwediyê wê ne wêdatir), ji wî aliyê ve jî, ji xeynî xeyrîmusluman ên hemwelatîyên TC'yê (Komara Tirkiyeyê) yek mînameke e ku mafekî pozîtîf tîne.

Xal 13 : (Bisînorkirina huriyet û mafên bingehîn);

Xal 25 : (Herkes xwedan serbestîya/ huriyeta qenaet û fikir û ramanê ye)

Xal 26 : (Serbestiya Daxwiyânî û Belavkirina Fikir û Ramanê)

Xal 42 : Peywir û Mafê Perwerdehi û Hindekariyê)

Xal 90 : Fiqraya 6'an (Lihevhatina bi Peymanên Navneteveyî re)

Bi hincetên van xalan, ji bo ku Mala Piştgiya Perwerdehiya Alî Eren ku li Amedê/Diyarbekirê kar û îşê perwerdehî û hindekatiyê dike, careke din were vekirin daxwaza serîlêdanê hatiye kirin. Ancax Brêz Dadgeha we di 31'ê Adar'a 2016'an de daxwaza me ya tedbîr/pêşîlêgirtinê hatiye redkirin.

Beriye her tiştî, em ji nû ve daxwaza tedbîra xwe dikin, Li gorî pêwistiya Xala 39'emîn a Rêzicknameya Hundurîn A Dadgeha Mafên Mirovan a Ewrûpayê û Mahkemeya we, Bi kirariya/muamele hejmara 79523240-405.01-E.1126219, dîroka 01.02.2016'an a Walîtiya Amedê /Diyarbekirê Navenda Perwerdehiya Alî Erel (*Xizmeta Perwerdehî û Hindekariyê dide*) hate girtin. Hatiye tespîtîkirin ku li gorî cihgirtina huqûqa peymanê bûye sedema bînpêkirina mafên mirovan yên giran. Divê di derbarê rakirina wê de biryara tedbîrê were dayîn. Di derbarê vê xusûsê de li gorî Xala 40'î ya rêzicknameya hundurîn divê bi şêwazekî lezgînî, ji aliyê serokê daîreyê ve were agahdarkirin û biryara tedbîrê were dayîn.

Lewre ku Dadgeha Bingehîn bi biryara xwe ya hejmara 2016/5192, dîrok 13.04.2016'an de serdlêdana me redkiriye, rê û rêçikên huqûqa navxweyî ku divê were kirin nemaye.

Li gel wê, biryara tedbîrê di nivê duyemîn ê sala perwerdehî û hindekariya 2016'an de, 63 xwendekar ji mafên xwe yên perwerdehiyê bêpar dimînin ew jî dibe sedema maxdûriyeteke telafiya wê nepêkan e. Ji emsalên xwe şûn de dimînin, bi derengî dikeve nava kar û barê jiyanê, herwiha mafên wan ên bingehîn tên bînpêkirin, nediyarbûna biryara dadgeha herêmi/mehelî divê vana hemû li ber çava were girtin û biryar were sendin.

Gorî pêwistiya Xala 41'emin a rêzicknameya hundurîn, îş pêşîlêgirtina mafê perwerdehî-hindekariyê ku hatiye girtin, dê pêvajoyeke huqûqî ya dûr û dirêj de ji aliyê dadgeha mehelî de were bi encamkirin, li berçavan were girtin, di derbarê bînpêkirina serbestiya mafên bingehîn de berê pêşîn were dîtin û bi lezgînî were lêkolîn û biryar were dayîn

Ligel vê mafê perwerdehiya bi zimanê dayikê di hemû belgeyên dadî ên gerdûnî de, ji bo hemû netewe û takekesan wekî mafekî ji destpêka dayikbûyinê tê hatiye pejirandin. Bi vê ve girêdayî, yekîneyên perwerdehiyê û li gorî pedegojiyê, ji bo pêşketina behreyên zarokî yên wekî mukayese, hevrûkirin, fêmkirin, têgihiştin, vegotinê û çalakiyêwn zihnî herî kêmheta pola sêemîn ya dibistana serata yî, bi zimanê dayika xwe perwerdehiyê bibîne. Ev rewş bi awayekî şênber ji aliyê zanîngeh û akademîsyenên qadê ve tê piştrastkirin.

Lêbelê li gorî zagonên heyî bilî Zimanê Tirkî bi zimanekî din perwerdehî nayê dayin. Di zagona bingehîn de li gorî xalên 24 û 90'emîn ku di peymanên navneteweyî de, mafê perwerdehiya bi zimanê dayikê sistematîze dikin û li gorî van xalan mafê perwerdehiyeke pirreng, pirdeng, demokratîk, wekheviya zayendîparêz, ji baweriyên re rêzdar, bêtî feraseta asîmilasyonîst û belaş, ji bo 25 mîlyon kurdên ku li Tirkiyeyê jî. Pêdiviyê jê neger e.

Di vê çarçoveyê de ji bo bikaranîna karû barên perwerdehiyê yên di 5 (pênc) rojên nav hefte yê de, di navbera Serlêdêr û Şaredariya Kayapınarê de peyman bi dîroka 30.09.2015 hatiye çêkirin. Li gorî vê peymanê, Mala Perwerdehiyê Ya Ali EREL ku di kolana 96. Mehleya

Huzurevleri ya Kayapınarê de ye, ji bo serlêdêran wekî Dibistana Seratayî ya Elî Erel di 05.10.2015'an de dest bi serdema perwerdehiya 2015- 2016'an kiriye

Serlêdêran di 14.10.2015'an de serî li Gerînendeyiya Perwerdehiya Millî ya Amede dane. Ji aliyê Gerînendeyiya Millî ya Perwerdehiyê ve di 27.10. 2015'an de, bi awayekî devkî hatiye gotin ku, perwerdehî dikare were kiri lê bersîveke nivîskî nehatiye dayin û perwerdehiyê dest pê kiriye. Piştî vê perwerdehî nehatiye astengkirin jî .Yanê bi awayekî zimmî musade hatiya dayin.

Malbatên serlêdêr xwe wekî kesên ku bi kurdî diaxifin, bin av dikan û daxwaza mafê bikaranîna perwerdehiya bi zimanê dayikê yên zarokên xwe dikan.

Tê zanîn ku li Tirkîyeyê 25 mîlyon hemwelatîyên kurd dijîn. Ji ber klu mafê wan yê perwerdehiya bi zimanê dayikê nehatiye qebûlkirin, di saziyên taybet ên perwerdehiyê de perwerdehiyê dibînin. Walîtiya Amedê di navenda Piştgirî ya perwerdehiyê ya Elî EREL de bi awayekî zimmî be jî di 14.10. 2015'an de destûra perwerdehiya bi zimanê zikmakî daye. Lêbelê bi hinceta ku nayê zanîn piştî 108 rojan yanê 4 mehan, biryara girtina dibistanê hatiye dayin. Bi vê biryarê mafê perwerdehiya bi zimanê dayikê yê gelek zarokan hatiye astengkirin.

Wekî encam; Bi biryara Dadgeha makezagona bingehîn ya bi hejmara 2016/5192'an, di 13.04.2016'an de, serlêdana me hatiye redkirin. Bi vê jî rêyên meyên hiqûqî yên hundurîn, bi dawî bûne. Di vê çarçoveyê de,ji bo rakirina vê biryara ku bi awayekî dijhiqûqî hatiye standin û di serî de maf û azadiyên bingehîn, mafê perwerdehiya bi zimanê dayikê tên binpêkirin dîsa ji bo bidawîkirina biryara girtina Dibistana Elî EREL (Perwerdehiya bi zimanê dayikê dide)

1- Başvurucuların ana dili olan Kürtçe ile yapılan başvurunun öncelikle kabul edilmesi

1- Divê di serî de ev serlêdana ku bi zimanê dayikê ya serlêdêran hatiye amadekirin, bê qebûlkirin.

2-Daxwaza me, ev serlêdana Serlêdêr di demeke zûtirîn de bê destgirtin û li gorî xala 39'an ya rêzîknameya hundurîn, di derbarê ji nû ve vekirina Dibistana Elî EREL ku bi zimanê dayikê perwerdehiyê dide, biryara tedbîrê bê dayin.11.06.2016

Bi rêzdariyên xwe

Parêzger Erhan URKUT

TIRKÎ

AVRUPA İNSAN HAKLARI MAHKEMESİ YAZI İŞLERİ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜNE

Başvur No: 16714/16

Başvurucular Selma Irmak, Ali Erdemirci ve Arin Zümrüt Karakoyun adına 26 Mart 2016 tarihinde Sayın Mahkemenize;

Avrupa İnsan Hakları Sözleşmesinin;

Madde 1: İnsan Haklarına Saygı Yükümlülüğü

Madde 6: Adil Yargılanma Hakkı

Madde 7: Kanunsuz Ceza Olmaz

Madde 8: Özel ve Aile Hayatına Saygı

Madde 10: İfade Özgürlüğü

Madde 13: Etkili Başvuru Hakkı

Madde 14: Ayrımcılık Yasağı

Medeni ve Siyasi Haklara İlişkin Milletlerarası Antlaşmanın;

Madde 27 Azınlıkların korunması;

Madde 18 Düşünce, vicdan ve din özgürlüğü;

Madde 4 Olağanüstü durumda yükümlülük azaltma;

Madde 14 Adil yargılanma hakkı;

Madde 26 Hukuk önünde eşitlik;

İnsan Hakları ve Temel Özgürlüklerin Korunmasına İlişkin Sözleşme’ye Ek Protokol’ün 2. maddeleri

Lozan Barış Antlaşmasının;

“Türkçeden başka dil konuşan Türk uyruklarının” “kendi dillerini sözlü olarak kullanabilme” hakkı, md. 39/5 tarafından, devletin bir resmî dilinin mevcut olduğu hususu dikkate alınarak düzenlenmiştir.

2) “Uygun düşen kolaylıklar”dan kasıt, **en başta eğitim-öğretimdir.**

3) “*Kendi dilleri*”nden kasıt, **tarafların anadilidir.**

4) Buradan kalkarak, şu husus da kuşku götürmez: Eğitim-öğretimi ana dilimde yapmak istiyorum. Ben sonradan öğrendiğim bir dille eğitim görmek istiyorum denmez.

6) Madde 39/5, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nde Türkçeden başka bir dili, sözlü olarak dahi olsa, resmî dairelerde kullanma hakkının tek örneğidir. Ayrıca, anadili resmî dil Türkçeden farklı olanlara bir “pozitif hak” (çoğunluğun sahip olduğu hakkın ötesinde bir hak) getirmesi açısından, gayrimüslimler dışındaki TC vatandaşlarına pozitif hak getirilmesinin de tek örneğidir.

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Anayasasının;

13. Madde (Temel hak ve hürriyetlerin sınırlanması)

25. madde (Herkes, düşünce ve kanaat hürriyetine sahiptir.)

26. madde (Düşünceyi Açıklama ve Yayma Hürriyeti)

42. madde (Eğitim ve Öğretim Hakkı ve Ödevi)

90. madde 6. Fıkra (Milletlerarası Andlaşmaları Uygun Bulma)

Maddeleri gerekçe gösterilerek Diyarbakır’da eğitim öğretim faaliyeti gösteren Ali Erel Eğitim Destek Evi’nin tekrar açılması için tedbir talepli başvuru yapılmıştır. Ancak Sayın Mahkemeniz 31 Mart 2016 tarihinde tedbir talebimizi reddetmiştir.

Öncelikle, tedbir talebimizi yenileyerek, Avrupa İnsan Hakları Mahkemesi İç Tüzüğü’nün 39. Maddesi gereğince ve mahkemenizce, Diyarbakır Valiliğinin 01.02.2016 tarih, 79523240-405.01-E.1126219 sayılı işlemiyle kapatılan Ali Erel Eğitim Merkezinin (*Kürtçe eğitim-öğretim hizmeti vermektedir.*) sözleşme hukuku kapsamında ağır insan hakları ihlallerine sebebiyet verdiği hususu tespit edilerek kaldırılması hususunda, tedbir kararının verilmesi gerekir. Bu hususa ilişkin iç tüzüğün 40. Maddesi gereğince, ivedi bir şekilde, daire başkanı tarafından tarafların bilgilendirilerek tedbir karar verilmelidir.

Çünkü Anayasa Mahkemesi 13.04.2016 tarih ve 2016/5192 sayılı kararıyla başvurumuzu reddetmiş ve tüketilmesi gereken iç hukuk yolu kalmamıştır.

Bununla beraber, tedbir kararının 2016 eğitim-öğretim yılının ikinci yarısında 63 öğrencinin eğitim hakkından yararlanamaması ve telafisi imkansız olan bir mağduriyete sebebiyet vermesi, yaşlılarına göre okul hayatından geri kalması, hayata geç atılması hususları ile birlikte, temel hak ve hürriyetlerin ihlal edildiği, yerel mahkemenin ne zaman karar vereceğinin belli olmaması da göz önünde bulundurularak karar verilmelidir.

İç Tüzüğün 41. Maddesi gereğince, iş bu davanın kapatılan eğitim-öğretim hakkının engellenmesi, bu durumun yerel mahkemece çok uzun bir hukuki süreçle sonuçlandırarak olması hususları göz önünde bulundurularak temel hak ve hürriyetlerin ihlal edildiğine ilişkin öncelik tanınarak ivedilikle incelemenin yapılması ve karar verilmesi gerekir.

Ayrıca anadilde eğitim ve öğretim, evrensel hukuk ve bağlı uluslararası sözleşmelerde bütün halklar ve bireyler için doğuştan gelen bir hak olarak teminat altına alınmıştır. Bununla beraber eğitim birimleri ve pedagojik olarak da bir çocuk mukayese, anlama, anlatım ve zihinsel faaliyetlerinin daha verimli gelişmesi için en az ilkökul üçüncü sınıfa kadar anadilinde eğitim öğretim görmesi, ilgili alanın akademisyenleri ve üniversiteleri tarafından bilimsel ve somut bir durum olarak ele alınmaktadır.

Ancak mevcut yasalarda Türkçe dil dışında eğitim öğretim verilememektedir. Anayasa'nın 24 ve 90. Maddeleri gereği uluslararası sözleşmelerde bulunan eğitim hakkıyla ilgili yasal düzenlemeler ve evrensel hukuk normlarına göre; çok dilli, çok kültürlü, cins ve inanç özgürlüğüne dayalı, eğitim ve öğretimde asimilasyoncu politikaların olmadığı, anadilinde ücretsiz ve zorunlu eğitim-öğretim hakkının kullanılmasıyla ilgili talepler Türkiye de yaşayan 25 milyon Kürt yurttaşında ihtiyacı haline gelmiştir.

Bu çerçevede başvurucular ile Kayapınar Belediyesi 30.09.2015 tarihinde yapılan ön protokol gereği, Kayapınar Huzurevleri Mahallesi 96. Sokakta bulunan Ali Erel Eğitim Destek Evi olarak kullanılan binanın haftanın beş günü eğitim-öğretim faaliyetlerinde kullanılmak üzere, müvekkillere tahsis edilerek söz konusu bina Ali Erel İlkokulu olarak 2015-2016 eğitim-öğretim yılına 05.10.2015 tarihinde başlamıştır.

Başvurucular tarafından 14.10.2015 tarihinde başvuru yapılmış, Diyarbakır İl Milli Eğitim Müdürlüğü tarafından 27.10.2015 tarihinde eğitim-öğretim yapılabileceği belirtilmiş ancak Diyarbakır Valiliği müvekkillerin başvurusuna her ne kadar cevap vermemişse bile eğitim-öğretim faaliyetlerinin yürütülmesine ilişkin hiçbir engellemede bulunmamış, zımnen müsaade etmiştir.

Başvuruculara talepte bulunan aileler kendilerini Kürtçe konuşan kişiler olarak tanımlamakta ve çocuklarının anadili olan Kürtçe ile eğitim görmelerini talep etmektedirler.

Türkiye'de yaklaşık 25 milyon Kürt yurttaşın yaşadığı bilinmektedir. Ancak ana dili olan Kürtçe resmi dil olarak kabul edilmediği için özel eğitim kurumlarda anadilde eğitim verilmektedir. Diyarbakır Valiliği, Ali Erel Eğitim Destek Merkezinin ana dilde eğitim-öğretim vermesine 14.10.2015 tarihinde zımnen onay vermiştir. Ancak her nedense izinsiz eğitim verildiği gerekçesiyle 108 gün sonra yani yaklaşık 4 ay sonra kapatılmasına karar vermiştir. Bu kapatma kararıyla birçok çocuk anadilinde eğitim ve öğretim hakkından yoksun bırakılmıştır.

Sonuç olarak, Anayasa Mahkemesi 13.04.2016 tarih ve 2016/5192 kararıyla başvurumuzu reddetmesi ve iç hukuk yolunun tüketilmiş olması **bu başvuruyu yapma gereği ortaya çıkmıştır**. Bu bağlamda, hukuka aykırı bir şekilde alınan ve temel hak ve hürriyetleri başta olmak üzere eğitim ve öğretim hakkını ihlal eden iş bu başvuruya konu Ali Erel Eğitim Merkezinin kapatılması (*Kürtçe eğitim-öğretim hizmeti vermektedir.*) ile birlikte ortaya çıkan temel hak ve hürriyetlerin ihlaline son vermek için;

1- Başvurucuların ana dili olan Kürtçe ile yapılan başvurunun öncelikle kabul edilmesi

2- İç Tüzüğün 39. Maddesi gereğince, tedbir kararı verilerek başvurucuların ana dili olan Kürtçe de eğitim-öğretim yapan Ali Erel Destek Merkezinin tekrar açılmasına ve iş bu başvurunun öncelikli olarak incelenmesi ve karar verilmesini talep ederiz. 11.06.2016

Saygılarımla,

Av. Erhan ÜRKÜT

DI DERBARÊ EĞÎTÎ SENÊ DE

1.SORUYA CEVAP:

EĞİTİM SEN, ortaya çıkışı 2. Meşrutiyet döneminde kurulan “Encüman -i Muallim” e dayanan ve yaklaşık 100 yıllık geçmişe sahip bir sendikadır Türkiye’de ki toplumsal muhalefet saflarında her zaman ezilen kimliklerden ve sınıflardan yana tutum almış olan bu sendikamız gelişen faşist müdahaleler sonucunda zaman zaman kapatılıp dağıtılmış, daha sonraları tekrar açılıp toparlanma sağlamıştır.

Bu süre içinde ;

-1950’lerde Türkiye Öğretmen Dernekleri Milli Federasyonu (TÖDMF)

- 1965’te Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası’nı (TÖS)

-1970’lerde Tüm Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği (TÖB-DER).

-1986 yılından başlayarak “abece Dergisi” etrafında örgütlenme sağlamış

-1988’den itibaren “Eğitimciler Derneği” (EĞİT-DER) t

-28 Mayıs 1990’da Eğitim İşkolu Kamu Görevlileri Sendikası’nı (EĞİTİM-İŞ) ve

-13 Kasım 1990’da ise Eğitim ve Bilim Emekçileri Sendikası’nı (EĞİT-SEN)

-EĞİTİM-İŞ ile EĞİT-SEN’ in 23 Ocak 1995’te birleşerek oluşturdukları sendikamız EĞİTİM SEN adı altında örgütlenmeye devam etmektedir

Türkiye’nin 81 ilinde 100’den fazla şubesiyle ve 127 binden fazla üyesi bulunan sendikamızın görev ve amaçlarını şöyle sıralayabiliriz:

1-Eğitim emekçilerinin ekonomik, sosyal, demokratik ve kültürel haklarını koruma ve geliştirme,

2-Özgür-demokratik ve anadilde eğitimi savunmak;

3-Üyelerinin haklarını ve çıkarlarını koruyup geliştirme doğrultusundaki mücadele etmek,

4- Bir yandan güvenceli çalışma, nitelikli , laik, anadilde ve kamusal eğitim önündeki engelleri kaldırmak,

5- Eğitimi sermayenin tahakkümünden kurtarmak amacıyla mücadele yürütmek

Sendikamız EĞİTİM SEN, kurucu üyesi olduğu Kamu Emekçileri Sendikaları Konfederasyonu’nun (KESK) ve ülkemiz sınıf hareketinin etkili bir bileşeni olarak uluslararası ilişkilerine ve uluslararası dayanışmaya da özel bir önem vermektedir. Ağırlıklı Avrupa ülkelerindeki eğitim sendikaları ile ilişki içinde olan sendikamız, Asya, Afrika ve Amerika kıtalarından ulusal sendikalarla da ortak çalışmalar ve projeler yürütmektedir. Tüm dünyada 30 milyondan fazla eğitim ve bilim emekçisinin ortak örgütü olan Eğitim Enternasyonali ’ nin (EI) Türkiye’deki tek üyesi olan sendikamız, Balkanlar, Kafkasya ve Ortadoğu ülkelerindeki eğitim sendikaları ve örgütleriyle de ortak çalışmalar ve projeler geliştirmektedir.

2.SORUYA CEVAP:

EĞİTİM SEN’in Anadilde Eğitime Bakış Açısı

-Uluslararası düzeyde, bilimsel, nitelikli eğitimin temel ilkelerinden biri olarak kabul edilen ‘Anadilinde Eğitim’ çocukların zihinsel gelişimlerinin, öğrenme yeteneklerinin ve sağlıklı bir kimlik edinmelerinin olmazsa olmaz koşullarındandır. Anadili, kişiler açısından olduğu kadar toplumlar açısından da büyük önem taşır. Kişinin düşünsel, ruhsal gelişiminde belirleyici bir rolü olan anadili, hem eğitim hayatında hem de sosyal ve ekonomik hayata katılarak, toplumsal refahtan ve maddi/manevi olanaklardan eşit şekilde yararlanabilmesinde etkili bir unsurdur.

-Dolayısıyla anadillerinin yasaklanması, eğitim süreçlerinden tümüyle dışlanması, bu anadilini kullanan yurttaşların hem ruhsal, düşünsel gelişiminde olumsuz etkide bulunur, hem de eğitim haklarından tam olarak yararlanmasına engel teşkil ederek toplumsal refaha ve maddi olanaklara eşit ulaşımına mani olur.

-Anadilinin, çocuğun ruhsal düşünsel gelişimi ve eğitim başarısı açısından taşıdığı önem, pek çok uluslararası sözleşmede bu hususa değinilmesine yol açmıştır. Çok dilli çok kültürlü ülkelerde, eğitim, resmi dil(ler)in dışında kalan anadillerine çeşitli şekillerde yer verilerek, eğitim hakkının

engellenmemesi için önlemler alınmıştır. Bunlar arasında çok dilli eğitim, çift dilli eğitim, eğitimde anadiline yer verilmesi gibi örnekler yer almaktadır.

-Bir eğitim sendikası olarak, başta eğitim hakkı olmak üzere, insanlığa yol gösteren evrensel insan hakları ilkelerinin, medeni ve siyasal haklar ile sosyal hakların ayrımsız bir şekilde herkes için uygulanmasından yana olan sendikamız, anadili konusuna da eğitim hakkı ve çocuğun yüksek yararı bağlamında yaklaşmıştır.

3.SORUYA CEVAP:

Anadilde eğitimin önündeki en büyük engel ,genel anlamda sürdürüle gelen ve şimdilerde eskiye nazaran örtülü bir şekilde sürdürülen devletin inkar politikalarıdır.

Devlet okullarında seçmeli olarak okutulan kürtçe dersi ihtiyacı karşılamaktan çok uzak olup, bunu anadilde eğitim istemimize yönelik bir çarpıtma olarak görmekteyiz.

Sendikamız anadilde eğitimi tüzük maddesi haline getirmiştir. Her ne kadar bu madde 2004 yılında geneltürmayın müdahalesiyle karşı karşıya gelmiş , sendikamız kapatılmayla yüz yüze gelmiş ve madde kaldırılmış olsa bile 2005 yılında bu madde sendikamız genel kurulu tarafından tekrar tüzüğe konulmuştur. Anadilde eğitim maddesi tüzükte şöyle geçer:

“Sendikanın Amaçları” başlıklı 2. maddesi (c) bendinde yer alan;

“ Toplumun bütün bireylerinin, temel insan hakları ve özgürlükleri doğrultusunda, herkesin kendi anadilinde, cins ayrımcı olmayan, eşit demokratik, laik, bilimsel, parasız ve kamusal nitelikli eğitim görmesini savunur.”

Bu doğrultuda sendika şubelerimizin anadilde eğitimle ilgili bazı çalışmalarını şöyle sıralayabiliriz:

15 Mayıs Kürt Dil Bayramında ve 21 Şubat Dünya anadil bayramlarında üyelerimiz sendikamızın almış olduğu karar doğrultusunda derslerini kürtçe işlemektedir. Devletin inkar politikaları doğrultusunda bu etkinliğe katılan üyelerimiz hakkında her seferinde idari inceleme başlatılmıştır.

Kürdistan’daki şubeler olarak uygun olan illerde açılan özgür okullarla protokol imzalanmış, sendika şube yöneticilerimize her seferinde adli ceza davaları açılmıştır. Bu davaların bazıları yerel mahkemelerde sürerken bazıları da sendikamız tarafından AİHM’ne taşınmıştır.

Ayrıca sendika şubelerimiz kesintisiz bir şekilde sendika binalarında Kurdi-der ile ortaklaşarak gerçekleştirdiği kürtçe kurs devrelerini sürdürüp her dönem onlarca kursiyerin kürtçe öğrenmesini ve ya dillerini geliştirmelerini sağlayıp mezun etmiştir.

Bütün bunların yanında sendikamızın nihai amacı; anadilde eğitimin önündeki bütün yasal engellerin kaldırılarak, anadilin resmi okullarda eğitim dili haline getirilmesi için mücadeyi daha ileriye taşımaktır

10 SUDÊN PERWERDEHIYA BI ZIMANÊ DAYÎKÊ

Anadilde verilen eğitimin 10 faydası

Anadilde verilen eğitimin 10 faydası

Kürtçe eğitim yapan Diyarbakır Ferzad Kemanger İlkokulu'nda bir yıl geride kaldı. Anadilde eğitim hızlı öğrenmeyi sağladı, komünal anlayışla ders ve atölye materyalleri ortak kullanıldı

1. HIZLI ÖĞRENMEYİ SAĞLADI

Anadilde kurulan okullarda eğitim alan öğrenciler öğrenme konusunda hızlı ilerledi. Çocuklar Kürtçe okuma yazmayı öğrendiler, yazıyla da anadilde kendilerini ifade etmeye başladılar. Veliler, öğrenciler ve öğretmenler kaydedilen aşamadan memnun.

2. DİL FOBİSİ ORTADAN KALKTI

Türkiye'nin batısına algılanan, empoze edilen kimlik ve dil fobisi ortadan kalktı. Kürtçe dilde eğitim ile zenginliğe doğru adım atıldı. Okul zenginleşen eğitim başarısının da ispatı oldu.

3. AZ ÖĞRENCİ BAŞARI GETİRİYOR

Okulda öğretmen ve öğrenci arasındaki iletişimin güçlü olması için sınıf mevcudu 20'nin üzerine çıkarılmadı. Dersler bu sayede daha verimli geçti.

4. DEMOKRATİK OKUL

Okulda meclis sistemi var. Mecliste de 8 öğretmen, 2 çalışan toplam 10 kişi. 3 kişiden oluşan okul yönetimini, okul meclisi seçiyor. Bu sayede amirlik ve otorite ilişkileri dışlandı, demokratik okul için önemli adım atılmış oldu.

5. AİLELER EĞİTİMİN PARÇASI

Aileleri sürece dahil edip daha aktif bir eğitim dönemi planlamak için aile meclisleri oluşturuldu. Okul aile meclisi üyeleri toplantılarda divanda yer alabiliyor. Bu sayede aileler eğitim sürecine dahil olup çocuğunun geleceği adına söz sahibi oluyor.

6. DERSLER İNTERAKTİF

Okulda 5 derslik var. 4 ü birinci sınıf, 1 tane de anasınıfı. Okul müfredatında hayat bilgisi, okuma yazma, matematik, beden eğitimi, resim, müzik dersleri veriliyor. İnteraktif eğitim amacı ile sınıflar U şeklinde düzenlendi.

7. ÖĞRETMEN ELEŞTİRİLEBİLİYOR

Okulda öğretmen otorite değil rehber konumunda. Okulda şiddet kesinlikle yasak, öğrenci diyalogları da buna dahil. Öğrencide gelişecek olan özgüven

10 SUDÊN PERWERDEHIYA BI ZIMANÊ DAYÎKÊ

Dibistana Seretayî ya Ferzad Kemanger a Amedê ku bi zimanê dayîkê perwerde dida salek li paş xwe hişt. Perwerdehiya bi zimanê dayîkê hîndekariya lezgîn pêk anî. Bi feraseteke komunal materyalên ders û atolyeyê hat bi karanîn.

- HÎNDEKARÎ LEZGÎNTIR PÊKHAT:** Di dibistanê de hîndekarî zûtir û lezgîntir pêş ve çû. Zarok bi Kurdî xwendin û nivisandinê hîn bûn. Bi zimanê zikmakî, bi nivîskî xweifadekirin dest pê kir. Dê û bav, xwendekar, mamoste hemû ji kar û barên perwerdehiyê razî û dilxweş bûn.
- TIRSA (FOBIYA) LI SER ZIMÊN RABÛ:** Tirs û fobiya nasname û ziman ku li rojavayê Tirkîyê dihat empozekirin rabû. Bi perwerdehiya zimanê Kurdî ve ber bi dewlemendiye ve gav hate avêtin. Serkevîna perwerdehiya dewlemendiya dibistanê bû ispata wê.
- HEJMARA HINDIK A XWENDEKARAN SERKEFTINÊ TÎNE:** Di dibistanê de hejmara xwendekaran bi ser bîstî neket. Ji bo wê, di navbera mamoste û xwendekaran de ragihandineke xurt çê bû û ders pir sûdwar derbas bû.
- DIBISTANA DEMOKRATÎK:** Li dibistanê pergaleke meclîsî hebû. Di meclîsê de, 8 mamoste, 2 xebatkar bi tevayî 10 kes, 3 kes jê rêveberiya dibistanê ji aliyê meclîsê ve tîn hilbijartin. Ji bo wê yekê têkiliyên amîrî û otorîteyî hate vederkirin. Ji bo dibistaneke demokratîk gavên girîng hate avêtin.
- MALBAT WESLEYEKE JI PERWERDEHIYÊ BÛ:** Ji bo plansaziya serdema perwerdehiyeke çalakîr û ji bo malbat tevî pêvajoyê were kirin meclîsên malbatan hate avakirin. Endamên meclîsa dibistan û malbatê di civînan de, di dîwanê de

çok önemli, mesela öğrenciler öğretmeni eleştirebiliyor. Öğretmenin derse girmemesi eleştiri nedenlerinden olabiliyor.

8. PRATİĞİN İÇİNDE EĞİTİM

Hayat bilgisi dersinde her gün bir sınıf ilk derste öğretmeniyle birlikte bahçeyi temizledi, çöpü toplayıp kovaasına taşıdı, ağaçları suladı, doğa ve çevreye nasıl saygı gösterileceğini öğrendi.

9. RENGARENK OKUL

Okul, çocukların dünyasına hitap etmesi için rengarenk boyalı.

10. KOMÜNAL TOPLUM

Anadilde açılan okul aynı zamanda sisteme karşı alternatif ve komün yaşamı esas alan bir toplumu amaçlayan bir anlayışa sahip. Okulda çocuklar gruplar halinde çalışıyorlar. Kalem, silgi, boya, kitap gibi ders ve atölye materyalleri ihtiyaca göre ortak kullanılıyor.

dikaribû cih bigirtana. Ji vê bonê malbat tevî pêvajoya perwerdehiyê dibû û di derbarê dehatuya zarokên xwe de dibûn xwedî gotin.

6. **ÎNTERAKTÎF DERS:** Li dibistanê 5 pol hene. 4 jê polên 1'emîn. Yek jî pola pêşdibistanê. Di mufredatê de, dersên Jiyan û Hawîrdor. Xwendin û Nivisandin, Matematîk(Bîrkarî), Werzîş, Resîm, Muzîk, tèn dayîn. Bi armanca perwerdehiya înteraktîf pol bi şeweyeke U yê hatiye rêkûpêkkirin.
7. **PERWERDEHIYA DI NAVA PRATÎKÊ DE:** Di dursa Jiyan û Hawîrdorê de her roj ji aliyê polekê ve, di dursa yekemîn de bi mamosteyê/a xwe re baxçê dibistanê tê paqijkirin. Gelaş tèn berhevkin û di gelaşdankan de tèn topkin. Darên baxçê dibistanê tèn avdan.Çawa ji hawîrdor û xwezayê re rêz û hurmet tê kirin, raberî xwendekaran tèn kirin
8. **MAMOSTE TÊ REXNEKIRIN:** Li dibistanê mamoste ne di rewşeke otorîterî, di rewşeke rehberiyê de ye. Şîdet û pêkûtî teqez qedexe ye. Hevpeyvînên xwendekaran jî tede, pêşveçuyîna xwebaweriyê ya xwendekaran pir girîng e. Xwendekar dikare mamostê xwe rexne bike. (Ku mamoste dereng bikeve û hwd..)
9. **DIBISTANA RENGORENGO:** Ji bo ku dibistan xîtabê zarokan bike, deng li zarokan bike bi rengên cûr bi cûr hate boyaxkirin.
10. **CIVAKA KOMUNAL:** Dibistana ji bo perwerdehiya bi zimanê dayîkê hatiye vekirin di heman demê de li hemberî pergalê, xwedî ferasetêke jiyaneke hevpar e. Jiyanêke komun û alternatîf esas digire. Li dibistanê zarok bi şeweyeke komxebatî dişixulin. Pênûs, jêbir, boyax, pirtûk û hemû materyalên atolyeyê û dersan li gorî pêdiviyên û bi hevparî tèn bikaranîn..

ŞARDEDARIYA MÊRDÎNÊ

1-Girîngî û rola şaredariyan di perwerdehî û hîndekariya bi zimanê zikmakî de çine?

Bersiv: Ji ber ku şaredarî saziyên fermî ne bandoreke wê li ser gel heye. Her wisa ji bona têkilî û xizmeteke baş were kirin divê rêvebir û xebatkarên şaredariyê bi zimanê li wê herêmê tê axaftin zanibin. Dema ev were kirin ew ê bandorekê li ser perwerdehiya zimanê zikmakî bike. Ji ber vê jî divê piştgiriya perwerdehiya zimanê zikmakî were kirin.

2-Pirsgirêkên li pêşiya perwerdehiya bi zimanê dayikê çi ne?

Bersiv: Pirsgirêka herî mezin ew e ku zimanê zikmakî ne zimanê fermî ye. Dema ku ne zimanê fermî be di saziyên fermî de nayê xebitandin. Ev jî nahêle ku ew ziman pêşvebiçe û bibe zimanê perwerdehiyê.

3-Ji bo lêkolîn û pêşxistina ziman û çanda kurdî, hîndekarî û perwerdahiya bi zimanê dayikê, di şaredariyê de kîjan lîjne têkildar e?

Bersiv: Mixabin di şaredariya me de hîna me lîjne an jî beşeke ku bi zimanê kurdî re têkildar be ava nekiriye. Lê di demeke pir nêz de di binê sîwana serokatiya daîreya çand- tûrîzm û karên civakî de wek gerînendehiyekê li ser zimanê kurdî em ê ava bikin. Ji bona vê gerînendetiya zimanê kurdî xebatên me didomin.

4- Ew ê lîjne çiqas bandorker be?

Bersiv: Bêguman lîjneya me bi piştgiriya hevşaredaran ew ê bandorê li hemû beşên şaredariyê bike.

5- Di vî warî de ew ê alîkariya şaredariyê çiqas be?

Bersiv: Li gorî hevdîtinên ku bi hevşaredaran re hatiye kirin ew ê piştgiriyeke mezin bidin gerînendetiya zimanê kurdî.

6- Di derbarê qireş, pêşdibistanên ku ji aliyê şaredariyê ve hatiye vekirin de hûn dikarin agahî bidin? Di pêşerojê de, di vî warî de projeyên wê yên din hene an na?

Bersiv: Li ser navê şaredariya me di binê sîwana serokatiya daîreya karên civakî de qireşek hatiye damezirandin. Lê mixabin hîna xebatên ku me dixwest em li ser pêşdibistanan bikin pêş ve neçûye. Di pêşerojê de heger ku em gerînendetiya xwe ya zimên ava bikin ew ê xebata me ya yekemîn li ser pêşvexistina qireş û pêşdibistanan be.

Em hêvîdar in ku em ji pîrsên we re bûbin bersiv. Mixabin ji ber pêvajoyên ji aliyê we ve jî tê zanîn hîna hinek xebatên ku me dixwest bi ser kevin bi dilê me neçûye serî.

Silav û rêz,

Seyfeddîn Yavuz

Serokê Daîreya Çand-Tûrîzm û Karên Civakî Ya Şaredariya Mêrdînê

Mamosteyê hêja merheba. Min li ser daxwaza we tiştên ku wê demê hatibûn pirsîn bi qasî ku di bîra min de mab un min nivîsîn. hêvî dikim bi kêrî we bê. silav û rêz.

HEVPEYVÎN

Ez Mikail Bülbül di beşa Ziman û

Çanda Kurdî de mamoste me. Navê Enstîtuya ku ez tê de dixebitim Enstîtuya Zimanên Zindî yên Tirkiyeyê ye.

Ev enstîtu kengî û çawa vebû?

Enstîtuya zimanên zindî di 2010an

de vebû. Wê demê hikûmeta ku li îqtîdarê bû bi navê *pêvajoya çareseriyê* dixwestin hinek gavên siyasî û çandî di meseleya kurdan

de bavêjin. Tevgerên kurdan jî behsa mafê ziman û çandî dikirin wê demê. Hikûmetê jî nedixwest mafê zimanî di dibistan an lîseyan de nas bike loma weke gaveke sembolîk di zanîngeha me de ev enstîtu hat avakirin.

Çima navê wê Enstîtuya Zimanên Zindî ye?

Wê demê serlêdana me weke Enstîtuya Kurdolojîyê bû lê ev

yek nehat qebûl kirin. belkî wê demê hikûmetê nedixwest navê kurdî li ser

be. Lê piştê beşa kurdî ya di bin banê enstîtuyê de qebûl kirin û bi vî awayê beşa kurdî vebû.

Kîjan beş di bin banê Enstîtuyê de hene?

Di bin banê enstîtuyê de sê beş hene. Beşa herî çalak ku hem mamosteyê wê zêde ne û

hem jî xwendekarê wê zêde ne, Beşa Ziman û Çanda Kurdî ye. Beşa din Beşa Ziman û

Çanda Suryanî ye û ya din jî Beşa Ziman û Çanda Erebiyê ye.

Di beşa kurdî de kîjan bername hene?

Du bername hene. Herdu jî bernameyên masterê ne. Yek ji bo gihandina mamostetiya kurdî ye û

ev bername weke *mastera bêtez* tê binavkirin. Di 2012an de hikûmetê ji bo xwendekarên sinifa 5-6-7-8 mafê du saet darsa kurdî ya hîlbijartî da. Loma jî pêwîstî bi mamosteyan çêbû. Wê demê berpîrsên wezaretê hatin beşa me û ji me xwestin ku em mamosteyan bigihînin û weke formul me li ser perwerdekirina salekê, bi riya *mastera bêtez* li hev kir

û me dest bi xebatê kir. Bernameya din jî *mastera bitez* e kutê

de xwendekar salekê darsê dibînin û salekê jî teza xwe dinivîsin.

Çend mamoste û xwendekarên we hene?

Di beşa kurdî de bi qasî 25 mamoste hene. Xwendekarên masterê jî yên *mastera bêtez* heta niha bi qasî 1000 hebî mezun bûne û yên *bitez* jî heta niha bi qasî 160 hebî me girtine û heta niha bi qasî 40 hebî *tezê* xwe dane.

Tezê we bi kîjan zimanî tên nivîsîn?

Xwendekarên me ji çar perçeyên kurdistanê hene. Loma hem kurmanc hem zaza hem jî soran hene.

Nivîsîna tezan ji sedî sed bi kurdî ye, yên zaza bi zazakî yên soran bi soranî û yên kurmanc jî bi kurmanjî dinivîsin.

Kîjan ders di bernameya we de hene?

Di bernameya *mastera bêtez* de , Edebiyata kurdî ya Klasîk,

Edebiyata Kurdî ya Nûjen, Edebiyata Kurdî ya Gelêrî, Rêzimana kurmanjî, Rêzimana Zazakî û Rastnivîs hene û salekê van darsan dibînin. Di bernameya *mastera bitez* de gelek ders hene û xwendekar dikarin ji nav bi qasî pêncî dersên cuda dersên ku dixwazin hîlbijêrin. Dersên lînguîstîk , edebiyatê, tarîx û çanda gelek in û xwendekar li gor seheya xwe dikarin hîlbijêrin.

Hûn girîngiya beşa xwe çawa dinirxînin?

Bi min berî her tiştî şikestinek e di polîtîkaya dewletê de ku heta niha digot kurd û kurdî tune ye. Helb est asîmîlasyona ku li ser kurdan tê meşandin bi vê gavê ji ortê ranabe lê dîsa jî şikestina polîtîkayekê û psîkolojiyekê îfade dike. Her wiha piştî ku heştê salî ku kurdî hat qedexekirin û înkarkirin, temsîla wê ya di vê asta xwendina bilind de gelekî girîng e. Ji ber ku kurdolojiya Mêrdînê tesîrek baş li asta xwendekariya kurdî dike û ji niha de bûye hêviyek tijî mizginî.

Mikail Bülbül

Mamosteyê Beşa Ziman û Çanda Kurdî Ya Zanîngeha ARTÛKLUYÊ

Mamosteyê hêja merheba. Min li ser daxwaza we tiştên ku wê demê hatibûn pirsîn bi qasî ku di bîra min de mab un min nivîsîn. hêvî dikim bi kêrî we bê. silav û rêz.

HEVPEYVÎN

Ez Mikail Bûlbûl di beşa Ziman û Çanda Kurdî de mamoste me.

Navê Enstîtuya ku ez tê de dixebitim Enstîtuya Zimanên Zindî yên Tirkiyeyê ye.

Ev enstîtu kengî û çawa vebû?

Enstîtuya zimanên zindî di 2010an

de vebû. Wê demê hikûmeta ku li îqtîdarê bû bi navê *pêvajoya çareseriyê* dixwestin hinek gav ên siyasî û çandî di meseleya kurdan

de bavêjin. Tevgerên kurdan jî behsa mafê ziman û çandî dikirin wê demê. Hikûmetê jî nedixwest mafê zimanî di dibistan an lîseyan de nas bike loma weke gaveke sembolîk di zanîngeh a me de ev enstîtu hat avakirin.

Çima navê wê Enstîtuya Zimanên Zindî ye?

Wê demê serlêdana me weke Enstîtuya Kurdolojîyê bû lê ev

yek nehat qebûl kirin. belkî wê demê hikûmetê nedixwest navê kurdî li ser

be. lê piştî beşa kurdî ya di bin banê enstîtuyê de qebûl kirin

û û bi vî awayê beşa kurdî vebû.

Kîjan beş di bin banê Enstîtuyê de hene?

Di bin banê enstîtuyê de sê beş hene. Beşa herî çalak ku hem mamosteyê wê zêde ne û hem jî xwendekarê wê zêde ne, Beşa Ziman û Çanda Kurdî ye. Beşa din Beşa Ziman û Çanda Suryanî ye û ya din jî Beşa Ziman û Çanda Erebi ye.

Di beşa kurdî de kîjan bername hene?

Du bername hene. Herdu jî bernameyên masterê ne.

Yek ji bo gihandina mamostetîya kurdî ye û

ev bername weke *mastera bêtêz* tê binavkirin. Di 2012an

de hikûmetê ji bo xwendekarên sinifa 5-6-7-

8 mafê du saet darsa kurdî ya hîlbijartî da. Loma jî pêwîstî bi mamosteyan çêbû. Wê demê ber pirsên wezaretê hatin beşa me û ji me xwestin ku em mamosteyan bigihînin û weke formul m e li ser perwerdekirina salekê, bi riya *mastera bêtêz* li hev kir

û me dest bi xebatê kir. Bernameya din jî *mastera bîtez* e kut ê

de xwendekar salekê darsê dibînin û salekê jî teza xwe dinivîsin.

Çend mamoste û xwendekarên we hene?

Di beşa kurdî de bi qasî 25 mamoste hene. Xwendekarên masterê jî yên *mastera bêtêz* heta nih a bi qasî 1000 hebî mezun bûne û yên *bîtez* jî heta niha bi qasî 160 hebî me girtine û heta niha bi qasî 40 hebî *tezê* xwe dane.

Tezê we bi kîjan zimanî tên nivîsîn?

Xwendekarên me ji çar perçeyên kurdistanê hene. Loma hem kurmanc hem zaza hem jî soran hene. Nivîsîna tezan ji sedî sed bi kurdî ye, yên zaza bi zazakî yên soran bi soranî û yên kurm anc jî bi kurmancî dinivîsin.

Kîjan ders di bernameya we de hene?

Di bernameya *mastera bêtêz* de , Edebiyata kurdî ya Klasîk,

Edebiyata Kurdî ya Nûjen, Edebiyata Kurdî ya Gelêrî, Rêzimana kurmancî, Rêzimana Zazakî û Rastnivîs hene û salekê van darsan dibînin. Di bernameya *mastera bîtez* de gelek ders hene û xwendekar dikarin ji nav bi qasî pêncî dersên cuda dersên ku dixwazin hîlbijêrin. Dersên lîn guîstîk , edebiyatê, tarîx û çanda gelek in û xwendekar li gor seheyê xwe dikarin hîlbijêrin.

Hûn girîngiya beşa xwe çawa dinirxînin?

Bi min berî her tiştî şikestinek e di polîtîkaya dewletê de ku heta niha digot kurd û kurdî tune ye. Helbest asîmîlasyona ku li ser kurdan tê meşandin bi vê gavê ji ortê ranabe lê dîsa jî şikestina polîtîkayekê û psîkolojiyekê îf ade dike.

Her wiha piştî ku heyştê salî ku kurdî hat qedexekirin û înkarkirin, temsîla wê ya di vê asta xwendina bilind de gelekî girîng e. Ji ber ku kurdolojiya Mêrdînê tesîrek baş li asta xwendekariya kurdî dike û ji niha de bûye hêvîyek tijî mizginî.

Mikail Bülbül

Mamosteyê Beşa Ziman û Çanda Kurdî Ya Zanîngeha ARTÛKLUYÊ

RAPORA ŞAREDARIYA BAJARÊ MEZIN A AMEDÊ

Di derberê krêş û dibistanên ku ji aliyê şaredariyê ve hatiye vekirin de, hûn dikarin agahî bidin? Di pêşerojê de, di vî warî de projeyên we hene an na?

Li Şaredariya Amedê nezî deh sal e hinêk xebatên zimên bi şexsan dihat kirin. Ji bo xebatên xwe bimeşînin, şaredarî ji dewletê avahiyek send. Ji van xebatan jê yek jî perwerdehiya zarokan bû. Perwerdehî bi zimanê Tirkî bû. Li ser pêwistî û daxwaza gel, şaredarî bi kursan dest bi perwerdehiya bi zimanê Kurdî kir. Kurs bi navê “Mala Piştgiya Perwerdehiyê.” Hate destpêkirin. Lê, her ku diçû daxwaza perwerdehiya bi Kurdî zêde dibû. Li ser wê daxwazê bi kursên dersên wek matematîk(bîrkarî), Tirkî û Îngilîzî, wek atolyeyên zimên dersa kurdî jî hate dayin. Lê ew jî dibû sedema tevliheviyê. Paşê ji bo zarokên, ji sê salî heta heft salîyan pêşdibistanek hate vekirin. Bi demê re hate dîtin ku ev dibistan têrî nake û ji daxwaza gel re nabe bersiv. Bi alîkariya saziyên çand û zimên, Wek TZP Kurdî, Kurdî Der, Enstîtuya Kurdî û hwd.. hişmendiya zimên dinava gel de roj bi roj bela bû. Gel ji bo zarokên xwe daxwaza perwerdehiya bi zimanê zikmakî kirin. Dewletê ew derfet nedida wan. Li ser vê daxwaza gel, şaredarî biryara li gel krêşan vekirina pêşdibistanê ku bi Kurdî perwerde were kirin da. Di serî de dibistan bi 50 zarokan destpê kir. Lê her sal daxwaz zêde bû. 300’î zêdetir serî lêdan çê bû.

Di demê borî de wek me got, mamoste û xwendekar bi Kurdî dizanibû lê perwerdehî bi Tirkî bû. Lê niha pêşdibistanên vebûne, zimanê wan ê perwerdehiyê bi Kurdî ye. Van dibistanan perwerdehiya xwe bi awayekê defakto dikan. Mamoste ji aliyê Kurdî Derê ve hatiye peywirdarkirin. Îjar, şaredarî du dibistanên mezin da çêkirin. Şaredarî, ji bo materyalan, ji bo hatin û çûndinê, ji bo destheqê mamosteyan û hwd.. budçe veqetand.

Di pergala pêşdibistanan de zarokên kurmancîaxêf dersan bi zaravayê kirdkî(zazakî) û bi Îngilîzî dibînin. Yê zazakîaxêf dersan bi kurmancî û Îngilîzî dibînin. Dinava dersên pêşdibistanê de dersên çandê, folklorê, rola demokratîkbûnê, zayenda civakî, dersa ekolojiyê jî hene .

Di sala yekemîn de tecrûbeyên me kêmbû. Bername bi mehane dihat çêkirin. Piştî ku em bû xwedî tecrûbe, me bernameyên xwe salane çêkir. Ji bo ku em ji daxwaza gel re bibin bersiv, em ê dinava her salî de pêşdibistanan li ser pêşdibistanên heyî zêde bikin. Pergala pêşdibistanan bi rêk û pêk bikin. Naveroka dersan dewlemend bikin.

Hûn mamosteyên xwe bi çi esasî dîyar dikan ?

Dayîreya Xizmetên Civakî li gorî pedivîyen xwe mamosteyan digirin.

Kesên li zanîngehê , beşa mamostetiyê, beşa pêşdibistanê xwendibin lê di dibistanên fermîde peywir negirtibin, xwedî perspektîfên ekolojiyê, demokratîkbûnê û zayenda civakî bin, li gorî van rê û rêbaz û esasan perwerde dîtîbin û bi Kurdî zanibin karin di pêşdibistanên me de wek mamoste peywir bigirin.

Ji bo lêkolîn û pêşxistana ziman û çanda kurdî, hindekarî û perwerdehiya bi zimanê dayikê, di şaredariyê da kîjan lijne(komîsyon) tekîldar e?

Di pêşî de bi awayekî lezgînî , ji bo van xebatan komîsyonek hate avakirin. Di vê komîsyonê de, li ser navê her dayîreyê kesekê/î hate bicihkirin. Ji bo avakirina zimên bingeh hate avêtin. Niha, li şaredariyê beşa zimên heye. Li bakûrê Kurdistanê heta niha xebatên wisa nehatibû kirin. Cara yekem e şaredariya me xebatin wisa dike. Her wiha cara yekem e ku ji bo xebatên çand û zimên kesên pispor wekî şiwêrmend hatiye girtin. Amadekirin, birêvebirin, organîzasyon û bernamaya xebatên zimên, hemû ji aliyê şiwêrmendiyê ve tên kirin û tê şopandin.

Niha jî me bernamayeke berfireh derxistîye. Di qada zimên û perwerdehiyê de em dikarin çibikin? Em zimanê Kurdî çawa di nava karên şaredariyê de belav bikin? Çawa bi rê ve bibin? Di nava bajêr de em dikarin ji bo zimên çi bikin?

Di vî warî de pêşniyazên gel li ber çavan hate girtin. Di meha Tebaxê de bi fermî biryar hate sendin, di bin bana dayîreya çandê ya şaredariyê de wek beşeke “Rêvebirîya Parastina Pêşvebirina Zimên” hate damezrandin. Bernamaya wê heye. Butceya wê heye. Xebatkarên wê hene. Xebatin xwe bi rêk û pêk dikin.

Piştî avabûna beşa zimên çi guhertin çêbû û tesîrek çawa li ser xebatên şaredariyê kir ?

Di şaredariyê de her şax gorî plansaziya xwe karên xwe dimeşînin. Lijneya zimên bi hemû dayîre û şaxan re bi kordîne dixebite. Mînak, Berê, tabela, lewha, afîş, bilbord, flamayên şaredariyê, reklam li panoyan hew tenê bi Tirkî dihate amadekirin. Êdî, ne tenê bi Tirkî, bi Kurmancî û bi zazakî jî tên amadekirin. Ji bo ku di nava gel de Kurdî belav bibe, ji bo ku li sûkê tabelayên dukanan bi Kurdî bibe, kesên ku bixwazin, serî li şaredariyê bixin, ji bo teşwîkkirinê, ji wergiya wan hinek pere dadixin xwarê. Otobosên şaredariyê, ên ku di xizmeta gel dane, şoforên wan teşwîqê axaftina Kurdî tên kirin. Ji bo Roja Cejna Zimanê Kurdî û rojê taybet ên din Şaredarî bi xwe kordîne dike. Bajêr dixemilîne.

Termînolojiya şaredariyê ya bi zimanê kurdî he ye, an jî ji bo perwerdekirina xebatkarên şaredariyê bernamayek we heye an na?

Niha, ji bo xebatkarên şaredariyê bernamayek perwerdehiya zimên li ber destên me heye. Xebatkar perwerde dibînin û Kurdî hîn dibin. Lê rastiyek jî heye, her çiqasî hebatkar Kurdî zanibin û bixwazin bi kurdî bi axivin jî, ji ber ku termolojiya şaredariyê bi Tirkîye, mixabin nikarin karên xwe bi Kurdî bikin. Me niha xebatên wek defakto daye destpêkirin. Ferhenga

termên îdarî yên şaredariyê bi herdu zaravayên Kurdî û îngilîzî em amade dikin. Ku biqede em ê li hemû dayireyên şaredariyê û xebatkarên şaredariyê belav bikin. Niha di ferhengê de nêzî 2400 peyv hatiye amadekirin. Di demeke nêz de dê were çapkirin. Helbet, dê ev jî têrî neke. Ji bo xebatkarên şaredariyê li gel perwerdehiya zimên, ê dersên hişmendiya jî were dayîn. Me, ji bo perwerdehiyê alîkarî ji Kurdî Derê xestiye. Bi vê şêwazê em dixwazin zimanê şaredariyê bibe Kurdî. Li Amedê di xebatê çand û zimên de yekser rola xwe bileyîze. Amed bibe pêşeng û ji şaredariyên din ên Kurdistanê re bibe mînak. Em dixwazin ji hemû şaredariyan re bibin model. Karên zimên divê li ser milê saziyan tenê nemine, şaredarî jî rol û rista xwe bilîze.

Hûn li hemberê astengîyan tînin an na ?

Belê, di serî da astengîyê fermî hene. Ji ber ku şaredarî giradeyê dewletê ye, em bi rehetî karên xwe bi zimanê kurdî nikarin bimeşînin. Em dixwazin nivîsên protokolên jî kurdî çêbikin lê fermiyet pêşî li me digire.

Şaredarîya Amedê şaredarîyeke mezin e. Bi serdestîya dewletê asîmilasyon belev bûye , Gellekî tesîra xebatan dereng dibe. Şerê ku qewimî kar û xebatên me asteng kir û şûn de xist.

Serpêhatiya Xebatên Ziman û Perwerdehî Bin Banê Şaredariya Bajarê Mezin de

Nêzîkê 10 sal e xebatên bi ziman û perwerdehî re eleqedar tên kirin di bin banê Şaredariya Bajarê Mezin a Amedê. Em van xebatan di bin du serenavan de binirxînin.

1. XEBATÊN PERWERDEHIYÊ

A) Perwerdehiya Pêşdibistanê (450 zarok)

4 navendan de perwerdehiya pêşdibistanê tê dayîn ji bo qasî 700 zarokên 3 salî heta 6 salî.

Giştî nêzîkê 20 pol hene, hejmara mamosteyên jî dora 20-25 kesan e.

Hinek perwerdehî ji sibê heta êvarê ye, hinek jî tenê heta nîvro an jî piştî nîvro ye.

Piraniya mamosteyan mezûnê lîseyê ne, beşên bi perwerdehiya zarokan re eleqedar xwendina, paşî beşdarî qursên kurdî yên Kurdî-Derê bûne.

Wek materyal weşanên cur bi cur tînin emilandin. Lê her wiha mamoste jî li gorî zanîna û tecrûbeyê xwe materyalên xwe amade dikin.

Mixabin perwerdehiyê berfireh a navxweyî heta niha nehate kirin ji bo mamosteyên heyî.

Hejmara mamosteyan dora 45'an e. Ji van, qasî 10 kes zaza ne.

Mûfredatek nû hatiye amadekirin, di polan de tê bikaranîn.

1. Zarokîstan Bağcılar û 450 Evler

Îsal dest bi perwerdehî kir, Yek li Diclekentê yek jî li taxa 450 Evlerê ye. Bi giştî qasî 300 zarokên ji 2 salî heta 6 salî perwerdehiya pêşdibistanê digrin. Perwerdehiya li Bağcılarê bi giştî kurmancî ye, îsal tenê polek hatiye vekirin ji bo kirmanckî jî. Li 450 Evlerê, 3 pol kurmancî, 3 pol jî Kirmanckî ye.

2. Odeyên Lîstinê bo Zarokan

Li çar meheleyên cuda de odeyên lîstinê bo zarokan hene. Van meheleyan de piranî malbatên xîzan dijîn. Lewma şaredariyê cihên cilûştinê an jî nançêkirinê danîne. Dema dayik tînin van deran, zarokên xwe jî bi xwe re tînin û didin odeyên lîstinê. Di hinek van odeyan de perwerdehiya pêşdibistanê tê dayîn, lê hinekê wan tenê ji bo wextekê cihê lîstinê ye bo zarokan. Perwerdehiyê tekmlî û kamil carna heye, carna jî tune ye.

3. Sumerpark

4 polan de perwerdehiya pêşdibistanê tê dayîn. Mufredata vîra wekî ya Zarokîstanê ye.

B) Navenda Piştigriya Xwendina Dibistanê (559 zarok, 243 keç, 316 kur)

Dersên wek Matematîk û Fen tînin dayîn ji bo zarokên diçin pola yekem heta ya heştem. Ber dersên mûfredatê, dersên Kurmancî jî hene. Xwendekar vî wek dersek dibînin. Her wiha atolyeyên mîna Wêne, Drama, Satranç û Mûzîkê hene ku piraniya wan bi kurmancî dimeşin.

C) Kampa Havînê

Şûbeyê zarokan a şaredariyê her havînê qasî 1000 zarokên ji malbatên xîzan dibe Kampa Betlaneyê ya li keleka Gola Hazarê. Her komê hefteyekê dimîne û hinek perwerdehiyên wek xwendina pirtûkan, lîstin, avjenî tînin dayîn. Pêwendiyên nav wan de tirkî-kurdî ye.

D) Perwerdehiya Pişeyî

Nêzîkê 15 warên cuda de perwerdehiya pîşeyî tê dayîn, piraniya van perwerdehiyan bi tirkî ye. Xebatkarên vê beşê jî xweyî hişmendiyeke kurdî nînin. Armanc ew e ku ev rewş bê guhertin.

2. XEBATÊN HIŞMENDIYA ZIMAN

Xebatên hişmendiya ziman di bin Rêveberiya Parastin û Pêşvebirina Ziman tê meşandin. Ev beş Tebaxa 2015'an hatiye avakirin û yekem beşa fermî ye li şaredariyan ku kar û xebatên ziman bi rê ve dibe.

1. Perwerdehiya Kurdî bo xebatkarên şaredariyê

3 pol hene. Du ji bo kurmancî, yek jî ji bo kirmanckî ye. Bi giştî qasî 70 kes niha perwerdehî digrin. Armanc ew e ku nav 3 salan de hemû karker û xebatkarên şaredariyê perwerdehiya ziman bigrin û karên xwe bi kurdî bikin.

2. Afîş û Videoyên Kurdî

Derheqê xebat û xizmetên şaredariyê de afîş, belavok û videoyên kurdî tîn amadekirin û belavkirin nav gel de ji bo bilindkirina hişmendiyê ziman.

3. Xebatên Daireya Çandê

Hema bêjin hemû xebatên di bin banê Daîreya Çandê de bi kurdî dimeşin. Mirov dikare van xebatan wiha rêz bike:

- Lîstikên şanoyê
- Weşandina pirtûkên derheqê Amedê
- Perwerdehiya hûnerên xweşik di Konservatuara Aram Tigran de

4. Guherandina levheyên ser deriyên beşên şaredariyê

Hemû beşan de levheyên ser deriyan bi kurmancî-tirkî hatine amadekirin.

5. Malpera Şaredariyê

Malper bi xwe tirkî-kurmancî-ingilîzî bû. Niha kirmanckî jî hat lêzêdekirin. Hemû nûçe bi tirkî-kurdî tîn weşandin.

6. Nivîsên Navxweyî

Hekê nivîsek here wilayetê an jî wezaretekê dewletê divê tenê tirkî be. Lê belê nivîsên ku beşên cuda hevdû re dinivîsin dikarin duzimanî jî bibin. Lewma jî carna ew nivîs bi tirkî-kurmancî tîn nivîsandin.

Encam û Nirxandin

Tirkî serdesttir e di hemû xebatan de, lê behra kurdî zêdetir dibe.

Kurdî, piranî Kurmancî ye di van xebatan de. Gelek kêr cih tê veqetandin ji bo Kirmanckî.

Serboriya xebatan nayê qeydkirin bi awayekê nivîskî û lewma jî baş nayê ragihandin û veguhestin bo xebatkarên nû.

Daîre û şubeya ku perwerdehî re eleqar e heta niha bi hişmendiyeke kurdî tevnegeriyaye.

Bûdçeya xebatên ziman û perwerdehî pir kêr e beramberî xebatên din.

Pêwendîya şaredariyê û saziyên sivîl ên bi ziman û perwerdehiyê re eleqadar têra xwe xurt nîne, danûstandin di asteke kêr de ye. Projeyên hevpar gelek kêr in.

Hingî diçe hişmendiya ziman jî zêde dibe, xebat jî berfireh dibin, zêdetir mamoste û xwendekar li van xebatan zêde dibin.

RAPORA ŞAREDARIYA BAJARÊ MEZIN A AMEDÊ

Di derberê krêş û dibistanên ku ji aliyê şaredarîyê ve hatîye vekirin de, hûn dikarin agahî bidin? Di pêşerojê de, di vî warî de projeyên we hene an na?

Li Şaredarîya Amedê nezî deh sal e hinêk xebatên zimên bi şexsan dihat kirin. Ji bo xebatên xwe bimeşînin, şaredarî ji dewletê avahiyek send. Ji van xebatan jê yek jî perwerdehiya zarokan bû. Perwerdehî bi zimanê Tirkî bû. Li ser pêwistî û daxwaza gel, şaredarî bi kursan dest bi perwerdehiya bi zimanê Kurdî kir. Kurs bi navê “Mala Piştigiriya Perwerdehiyê.” Hate destpêkirin. Lê, her ku diçû daxwaza perwerdehiya bi Kurdî zêde dibû. Li ser wê daxwazê bi kursên dersên wek matematîk(bîrkarî), Tirkî û îngilîzî, wek atolyeyên zimên dursa kurdî jî hate dayin. Lê ew jî dibû sedema tevliheviyê. Paşê ji bo zarokên, ji sê salî heta heft salîyan pêşdibistanek hate vekirin. Bi demê re hate dîtin ku ev dibistan têrî nake û ji daxwaza gel re nabe bersiv. Bi alîkariya saziyên çand û zimên, Wek TZP Kurdî, Kurdî Der, Enstîtuya Kurdî û hwd.. hişmendiya zimên dinava gel de roj bi roj bela bû. Gel ji bo zarokên xwe daxwaza perwerdehiya bi zimanê zikmakî kirin. Dewletê ew derfet nedida wan. Li ser vê daxwaza gel, şaredarî biryara li gel krêşan vekirina pêşdibistanê ku bi Kurdî perwerde were kirin da. Di serî de dibistan bi 50 zarokan destpê kir. Lê her sal daxwaz zêde bû. 300’î zêdetir serî lêdan çê bû.

Di demê borî de wek me got, mamoste û xwendekar bi Kurdî dizanibû lê perwerdehî bi Tirkî bû. Lê niha pêşdibistanên vebûne, zimanê wan ê perwerdehiyê bi Kurdî ye. Van dibistanan perwerdehiya xwe bi awayekê defakto dikin. Mamoste ji aliyê Kurdî Derê ve hatiye peywirdarkirin. Îjar, şaredarî du dibistanên mezin da çêkirin. Şaredarî, ji bo materyalan, ji bo hatin û çûndinê, ji bo destheqê mamosteyan û hwd.. budçe veqetand.

Di pergala pêşdibistanan de zarokên kurmancîaxêf dersan bi zaravayê kirdkî(zazakî) û bi îngilîzî dibînin. Yên zazakîaxêf dersan bi kurmancî û Îngilîzî dibînin. Dinava dersên pêşdibistanê de dersên çandê, folklorê, rola demokratîkbûnê, zayenda civakî, dursa ekolojîyê jî hene .

Di sala yekemîn de tecrûbeyên me kêr bû. Bername bi mehane dihate çêkirin. Piştî ku em bû xwedî tecrûbe, me bernameyên xwe salane çêkir. Ji bo ku em ji daxwaza gel re bibin bersiv, em ê dinava her salî de pêşdibistanan li ser pêşdibistanên heyî zêde bikin. Pergala pêşdibistanan bi rêk û pêk bikin. Naveroka dersan dewlemend bikin.

Hûn mamosteyên xwe bi çi esasî dîyar dikin ?

Dayîreya Xizmetên Civakî li gorî pedîvîyen xwe mamosteyan digirin. Kesên li zanîngehê , beşa mamostetiyê, beşa pêşdibistanê xwendibin lê di dibistanên fermîde peywîr negirtibin, xwedî perspektîfên ekolojîyê, demokratîkbûnê û zayenda civakî bin, li gorî van rê û rêbaz û esasan perwerde dîtîbin û bi Kurdî zanibin karin di pêşdibistanên me de wek mamoste peywîr bigirin.

Ji bo lêkolîn û pêşxistana ziman û çanda kurdî, hindekarî û perwerdehiya bi zimanê dayikê, di şaredarîyê da kîjan lijne(komisyon) tekîldar e?

Di pêşî de bi awayekî lezgînî , ji bo van xebatan komîsyonek hate avakirin. Di vê komîsyonê de, li ser navê her dayireyê kesekê/î hate bicihkirin. Ji bo avakirina zimên bingeh hate avêtin. Niha, li şaredariyê beşa zimên heye. Li bakûrê Kurdistanê heta niha xebatên wisa nehatibû kirin. Cara yekem e şaredariya me xebatin wisa dike. Her wiha cara yekem e ku ji bo xebatên çand û zimên kesên pispor wekî şiwêrmend hatiye girtin. Amadekirin, birêvebirin, organîzasyon û bernameya xebatên zimên, hemû ji aliyê şiwêrmendiyê ve tên kirin û tê şopandin.

Niha jî me bernameyeke berfireh derxistiye. Di qada zimên û perwerdehiyê de em dikarin çibikin? Em zimanê Kurdî çawa di nava karên şaredariyê de belav bikin? Çawa bi rê ve bibin? Di nava bajêr de em dikarin ji bo zimên çi bikin?

Di vî warî de pêşniyazên gel li ber çavan hate girtin. Di meha Tebaxê de bi fermî biryar hate sendin, di bin bana dayîreya çandê ya şaredariyê de wek beşeke “Rêvebirîya Parastina Pêşvebirina Zimên” hate damezrandin. Bernameya wê heye. Butceya wê heye. Xebatkarên wê hene. Xebatin xwe bi rêk û pêk dikin.

Piştî avabûna beşa zimên çi guhertin çêbû û tesîrek çawa li ser xebatên şaredariyê kir ?

Di şaredariyê de her şax gorî plansaziya xwe karên xwe dimeşînin. Lijneya zimên bi hemû dayîre û şaxan re bi kordîne dixebite. Mînak, Berê, tabela, lewha, afîş, bilbord, flamayên şaredariyê, reklam li panoyan hew tenê bi Tirkî dihate amadekirin. Êdî, ne tenê bi Tirkî, bi Kurmancî û bi zazakî jî tên amadekirin. Ji bo ku di nava gel de Kurdî belav bibe, ji bo ku li sûtê tabelayên dukanan bi Kurdî bibe, kesên ku bixwazin, serî li şaredariyê bixin, ji bo teşwîkkirinê, ji wergeriya wan hinek pere dadixin xwarê. Otobosên şaredariyê, ên ku di xizmeta gel dane, şoforên wan teşwîqê axaftina Kurdî tên kirin. Ji bo Roja Cejna Zimanê Kurdî û rojê taybet ên din Şaredarî bi xwe kordîne dike. Bajêr dixemilîne.

Termînolojiya şaredariyê ya bi zimanê kurdî he ye, an jî ji bo perwerdekirina xebatkarên şaredariyê bernemayek we heye an na?

Niha, ji bo xebatkarên şaredariyê bernameyek perwerdehiya zimên li ber destên me heye. Xebatkar perwerde dibînin û Kurdî hîn dibin. Lê rastiyek jî heye, her çiqasî hebatkar Kurdî zanibin û bixwazin bi kurdî bi axivîn jî, ji ber ku termolojiya şaredariyê bi Tirkiye, mixabin nikarin karên xwe bi Kurdî bikin. Me niha xebatên wek defakto daye destpêkirin. Ferhenga termên îdarî yê şaredariyê bi herdu zaravayên Kurdî û îngilîzî em amade dikin. Ku biqede em ê li hemû dayireyên şaredariyê û xebatkarên şaredariyê belav bikin. Niha di ferhengê de nêzî 2400 peyv hatiye amadekirin. Di demeke nêz de dê were çapkirin. Helbet, dê ev jî têrî neke. Ji bo xebatkarên şaredariyê li gel perwerdehiya zimên, ê dersên hişmendiyê jî were dayîn. Me, ji bo perwerdehiyê alîkarî ji Kurdî Derê xestiye. Bi vê şêwazê em dixwazin zimanê şaredariyê bibe Kurdî. Li Amedê di xebatê çand û zimên de yekser rola xwe bileyîze. Amed bibe pêşeng û ji şaredariyên din ên Kurdistanê re bibe mînak. Em dixwazin ji hemû şaredariyan re bibin model. Karên zimên divê li ser milê saziyan tenê nemine, şaredarî jî rol û rista xwe bilîze.

Hûn li hemberê astengîyan tîn an na ?

Belê, di serî da astengîyê fermî hene. Ji ber ku şaredarî giradeyê dewletê ye, em bi rehetî karên xwe bi zimanê kurdî nikarin bimeşînin. Em dixwazin nivîsên protokolên jî kurdî çêbikin lê fermiyet pêşî li me digire.

Şaredariya Amedê şaredariyeke mezin e. Bi serdestiya dewletê asîmilasyon belev bûye , Gellekî tesira xebatan dereng dibe. Şerê ku qewimî kar û xebatên me asteng kir û şûn de xist.

Serpêhatiya Xebatên Ziman û Perwerdehî Bin Banê Şaredariya Bajarê Mezin de

Nêzîkê 10 sal e xebatên bi ziman û perwerdehî re eleqedar tên kirin di bin banê Şaredariya Bajarê Mezin a Amedê. Em van xebatan di bin du serenavan de binirxînin.

1. XEBATÊN PERWERDEHIYÊ

E) Perwerdehiya Pêşdibistanê (450 zarok)

4 navendan de perwerdehiya pêşdibistanê tê dayîn ji bo qasî 700 zarokên 3 salî heta 6 salî.

Giştî nêzîkê 20 pol hene, hejmara mamosteyên jî dora 20-25 kesan e.

Hinek perwerdehî ji sibê heta êvarê ye, hinek jî tenê heta nîvro an jî piştî nîvro ye.

Piraniya mamosteyan mezûnê lîseyê ne, beşên bi perwerdehiya zarokan re eleqedar xwendina, paşî beşdarî qursên kurdî yên Kurdî-Derê bûne.

Wek materyal weşanên cur bi cur tînin emilandin. Lê her wiha mamoste jî li gorî zanîna û tecrûbeyê xwe materyalên xwe amade dikin.

Mixabin perwerdehiyê berfireh a navxweyî heta niha nehatiye kirin ji bo mamosteyên heyî.

Hejmara mamosteyan dora 45'an e. Ji van, qasî 10 kes zaza ne.

Mûfredatek nû hatiye amadekirin, di polan de tê bikaranîn.

4. Zarokîstan Bağcılar û 450 Evler

Îsal dest bi perwerdehî kir, Yek li Diclekentê yek jî li taxa 450 Evlerê ye. Bi giştî qasî 300 zarokên ji 2 salî heta 6 salî perwerdehiya pêşdibistanê digrin. Perwerdehiya li Bağcılarê bi giştî kurmançî ye, îsal tenê polek hatiye vekirin ji bo kirmanckî jî. Li 450 Evlerê, 3 pol kurmançî, 3 pol jî Kirmanckî ye.

5. Odeyên Lîstinê bo Zarokan

Li çar meheleyên cuda de odeyên lîstinê bo zarokan hene. Van meheleyan de piranî malbatên xîzan dijîn. Lewma şaredariyê cihên çilûştinê an jî nançêkirinê danîne. Dema dayik tînin van deran, zarokên xwe jî bi xwe re tînin û didin odeyên lîstinê. Di hinek van odeyan de perwerdehiya pêşdibistanê tê dayîn, lê hinekê wan tenê ji bo wextekê cihê lîstinê ye bo zarokan. Perwerdehiyê tekmil û kamil carna heye, carna jî tune ye.

6. Sumerpark

4 polan de perwerdehiya pêşdibistanê tê dayîn. Mufredata vira wekî ya Zarokîstanê ye.

F) Navenda Piştgriya Xwendina Dibistanê (559 zarok, 243 keç, 316 kur)

Dersên wek Matematîk û Fen tînin dayîn ji bo zarokên diçin pola yekem heta ya heştem. Ber dersên mûfredatê, dersên Kurmançî jî hene. Xwendekar vê wek dersek dibînin. Her wiha atolyeyên mîna Wêne, Drama, Satranç û Mûzikê hene ku piraniya wan bi kurmançî dimeşin.

G) Kampa Havînê

Şûbeya zarokan a şaredariyê her havînê qasî 1000 zarokên ji malbatên xîzan dibe Kampa Betlaneyê ya li keleka Gola Hazarê. Her komê hefteyekê dimîne û hinek perwerdehiyên wek xwendina pirtûkan, lîstin, avjenî tînin dayîn. Pêwendiyên nav wan de tirkî-kurdî ye.

H) Perwerdehiya Pişeyî

Nêzîkê 15 warên cuda de perwerdehiya pîşeyî tê dayîn, piraniya van perwerdehiyan bi tirkî ye. Xebatkarên vê beşê jî xweyî hişmendiyeke kurdî nînin. Armanc ew e ku ev rewş bê guhertin.

2. XEBATÊN HIŞMENDIYA ZIMAN

Xebatên hişmendiya ziman di bin Rêveberiya Parastin û Pêşvebirina Ziman tê meşandin. Ev beş Tebaxa 2015'an hatiye avakirin û yekem beşa fermî ye li şaredariyan ku kar û xebatên ziman bi rê ve dibe.

1. Perwerdehiya Kurdî bo xebatkarên şaredariyê

3 pol hene. Du ji bo kurmancî, yek jî ji bo kirmanckî ye. Bi giştî qasî 70 kes niha perwerdehî digrin. Armanc ew e ku nav 3 salan de hemû karker û xebatkarên şaredariyê perwerdehiya ziman bigrin û karên xwe bi kurdî bikin.

2. Afîş û Videoyên Kurdî

Derheqê xebat û xizmetên şaredariyê de afîş, belavok û videoyên kurdî tîn amadekirin û belavkirin nav gel de ji bo bilindkirina hişmendiye ziman.

4. Xebatên Daireya Çandê

Hema bêjin hemû xebatên di bin banê Daîreya Çandê de bi kurdî dimeşin. Mirov dikare van xebatan wiha rêz bike:

- Lîstikên şanoyê
- Weşandina pirtûkên derheqê Amedê
- Perwerdehiya hûnerên xweşik di Konservatuara Aram Tigran de

5. Guherandina levheyên ser deriyên beşên şaredariyê

Hemû beşan de levheyên ser deriyan bi kurmancî-tirkî hatine amadekirin.

6. Malpera Şaredariyê

Malper bi xwe tirkî-kurmancî-ingilîzî bû. Niha kirmanckî jî hat lêzêdekirin. Hemû nûçe bi tirkî-kurdî tîn weşandin.

7. Nivîsên Navxweyî

Hekê nivîsek here wilayetê an jî wezaretekê dewletê divê tenê tirkî be. Lê belê nivîsên ku beşên cuda hevdû re dinivîsin dikarin duzimanî jî bibin. Lewma jî carna ew nivîs bi tirkî-kurmancî tîn nivîsandin.

Encam û Nirxandin

Tirkî serdesttir e di hemû xebatan de, lê behra kurdî zêdetir dibe.

Kurdî, piranî Kurmancî ye di van xebatan de. Gelek kêr cih tê veqetandin ji bo Kirmanckî.

Serboriya xebatan nayê qeydkirin bi awayekê nivîskî û lewma jî baş nayê ragihandin û veguhestin bo xebatkarên nû.

Daîre û şubeya ku perwerdehî re eleqar e heta niha bi hişmendiyeke kurdî tevnegeriyaye.

Bûdçeya xebatên ziman û perwerdehî pir kêr e beramberî xebatên din.

Pêwendîya şaredariyê û saziyên sivîl ên bi ziman û perwerdehiyê re eleqadar têra xwe xurt nîne, danûstandin di asteke kêr de ye. Projeyên hevpar gelek kêr in.

Hingî diçe hişmendiya ziman jî zêde dibe, xebat jî berfireh dibin, zêdetir mamoste û xwendekar li van xebatan zêde dibin.

ZIMAN

Gorî zimannasan, di cîhanê de hejmara zimanên ku tên axaftin di navbera 4000 – 6000'an de tê texminkirin. Tê diyarkirin ku di cîhanê de, zimannasan herî zêde li ser malbata zimên a Hîndû – Ewrûpî lêkolîn kirine. Ev malbata zimên a Hîndû – Ewrûpî bi neh milî ve ji hev diqetin. Di milê Hîndû – Îranî de Persiya kevn, Kurdî, Farisî, Sanskrîtî, Hîndî, Peştûnî, Belûcî û Bengalî cih digirin.

Zimanên dinyayê hemû, mîrasiya hevpar a dîroka mirovahiyê ye. Ti ziman li paşmayî nîne. Ti ziman ji zimanên din kêmtir nîne. Ziman peyvan didin hev û ji hev distînin. Ev hebûna zimên biçûk naxîne. Hemû ziman ji aliyê olî, civakî û dîrokî ve ji hev bandor girtine. Kêm zêde peyvan dane hev û peyvan ji hev sendine.

Avahiyeke gramatîk a her zimanî heye. Ev evahiya gramatîk ji fonolojî (pergala deng), morfolojî (avahiya peyvan), sentaks (rêzkirina peyvan), semantîk (pêwendîya deng û wateyê) û ji peyvan pêk tên. Bi van taybetiyên xwe zimanên ku di heman malbatê de cih digirin dişibin hev. Ev tişteke xwezayî ye. Ev nayê wateya ku van zimanan wêrsiyonên hev in û heman ziman in.

Wek hemû giyaneveran, ziman jî di nava demê de, di peyvên wî de, di fonolojî (pergala deng), morfolojî (avahiya peyvan), sentaks (rêzkirina peyvan), semantîka (pêwendîya deng û wateyê) wî de guhertin çê dibin. Zimanê ku em niha pê diaxifin û zimanê du hezar sal berê yê ku bav û kalên me pê diaxifin ne wek hev in.

ÇAND ÇI YE?

Kevneşopî, nîrxên huqûkî, huner, bawerî, zanyarî û hemû agahî yê takekesên di civakekê de dijîn, ji tevahiya wan re, ÇAND tê gotin.

Çand, şêl û tevgerên hînkirî yê civakekê ye.

Çand, tevahiya çîrok û buyerên ku em ji hev re dibêjin e.

Çand, tevahiya nîrx, heyînen şênber û razber ên ku ji raborî (rabirdû) heta îro hatiye, mîrate û nîrxên çandî tevahiyan wan re tê gotin. Çand, jiyana me dewlemend dike. Pêwendî di nava do û îro de çê dike.

Civak bi zimanê zikmakî çanda xwe dide jiyandin û veguhêzî nivîşên nû dikan. Di navbera zimên û çandê de têkiliyeke xurt heye û li hev bandor dikan. Bi kurtasî çand bi saya zimên dijî û vediguhêze.

MAFÊN HÎNBÛNA ZIMANÊ ZIKMAKÎ

Hînbûn û pêşvebirina zimanê zikmakî di dema îroyîn de mafê bingeîn yê takekesî tên pejirandin. Bêguman ji bo vî mafî were pêkanîn pêwîstî bi derfetên dewletê, bi derfetên gelemper heye. Çavkanî û derfetên gelemper ji bo hînkirina zimanê dayîkê jî tên serfêkirin. Hînkirina zimanê dayîkê, di demokrasîyên hemdem de îmtiyaz nayê hesibandin, wekî pêwîstiya sendina perwerdehiyê ya di heman şert û mercê ya zarokên xwedî zimanê zikmakî yê cûda tê dîtin.

Ji bo pêşdaraziyên neyînî yê li hemberî zimên were rakirin û ji bo bigihîje sitatuyeye wekvev, sazî û dezgehên perwerde û hîndekariyê têr nakin, rol û rista alav û amûrên girse jî girîng in.

KURDÎ

Dema mirov veguherînen denga yê malbata zimên ê Hîndû- Ewrûpî û têkiliyên di nava zimanan de vedikolin, Kurdî jî wekî Persiya Kevn, Sanskrîtî, Farisî, Hîndî, Urduyî, Bengalî, Pûncabî, Peştuyî (Afganî) di nava milê Hîndû-Îranî ya Malbata Zimên ya Hîndû-Ewrûpî de cih digire. Kurdî di milê Hîndû-Îranî ya koma başûrê rojava de cih digire û herî kêm 26-30 milyon mirov pê diaxifin. (**Mc-Dowall, D, 1996**). Kurdî xwedî heman kokî yê zimanên Hînd-Ewrûpî yê din û Îtalî, Fransî û Înglîzî ye. Gelek peyvên wan ên hevpar henin.

MÎNAK :

Îngilîzî	Kurdî
baby	bebik
bachelor	bêkar
bed	bedbext
allied	alîgir
angry	enirî
caravan	karwan
curt	kurt
new	nû

Di nava malbata zimên ên milê Hîndû-Îranî de herî zêde Belûcî, Peştuyî û Farisî nêzî Kurdî ne. Ji ber ku Kurdî qedexa bû, pêşî li xebat û lêkolînên akademîk û zanistî ya di derbarê Kurdî de hatibû girtin. Profesor Dr. Mehrdad R. Izady ku di Beşa Şaristanî û Zimanên Rojilata Nêzîk a Zanîngeha Harwardê de profesora bû, di pirtûka xwe ya bi navê KURD de, di derbarê çapemenî, wêje û zimanê Kurdî de wiha dibêje.; Zimanê Kurdî bi di komên bîngehî ji hev diqetîn.

1. **KOMA KURMANCÎ:** Ew jî dibin du beş. Yek jê Behdînanî (Kurmanciya Bakûr) a din jî Soranî (Kurmanciya Başûr) e.
2. **KOMA PAHLAWANÎ:** Di vê komê de wekî Kirdkî (Dimilkî) û Goranî dibin du beş. Ew jî di nava xwe de bi gelek zaravayên din ji hev diqetîn. Ji wan hinek, Hewremanî û Lakî ne.(Van her du ya jî zaravayên herî girîng yê diyalektika Goranî ne û zêdetirî sed salan e, xwedî wêjeke nivîskî ya berfireh in.

KURMANCÎ

Îroj bi hejmara xwe ji çaran sisê Kurd bi vê zaravayê diaxifin. Kurmancî di nava xwe de, **Kurmanciya Bakûr** (Behdînanî) û **Kurmanciya Başûr** (Soranî) dibin du beş. **Kurmanciya Bakûr** li Bakûrê Rojavayê Kurdistanê (Li Turkiyeyê) piraniyên Kurdan, bilî cihên ku Kirdkî (Dimilkî) tên axaftin bi tevayîyê heremê bi Kurmancî diaxifin. Dîsa, Li Başûrê Rojava (Li Sûriyê) , Kurdên Sovyeta Kevn, li Ermenîstanê, li Kazakîstanê, li Azarbeycanê û li Gurcistanê bi tevayî Kurmancî tê axaftin. Herwiha li herema bakûrê Xorasanê ya Îranê, li Lubnanê, Kurmancî tê axaftin. **Kurmanciya Başûr (Soranî)** : Li Başûrê Kurdistanê, (Iraq- Li Suleymaniyê, Li Kerkûkê, Li Hewlêr û Li Rewandûzê), Li Rojhlatê Kurdistanê, (Îran- Li Kirmanşahê, Li Mahabatê, Li Sakizê, Li Senendjê, Li Bokan û Banê) tê axaftin. Gelek jî binzaravayên Him Kurmanciya Bakûr û him jî Kurmanciya Başûr henin..

Peywira Zimên Çiye?

Peywira zimên, di navbera mirovan de jihevîfêmkirinê û lihevhatinê pêktîne. Yanî, ziman navgîna ragihanê ye.

Meriv nikare ziman bi peywîrek tenê girê bide. Gelek peywîrên zimên hene. Ji bilî peywîra wî ya ragihînê, peywîra wî ya nasnameya neteweyî, peywîra wî ya çand û dîrokê hene. Gorî lêkolînên zimanzanan çar peywîrên sereke yên zimên hene.

1- Peywira wî ya ragihînê: Di nava mirovan de jihevîfêmkirinê û lihevhatinê pêk tîne. Di heman demêde peywîra wî ya xweîfadekirinê,(derbirînê) heye. Dema mirov ji ziman re ne serwest be, mirov fêhm dike lê mirov nikare biaxife.

2- Peywira wî ya fikir û ramanê: Ziman ji bo fikir û raman, xeyal, zanist û lêkolînê jî tê bikaranîn. Têgîn û têgeh bi peyvan tên îfade kirin.

3- Peywira wî ya hestên nasnameyî: Ziman taybetî û hestên neteweyî di hundurê xwe de dihevine. Di axaftinê de mirov dizane kî ye? Ji kîja neteweyê ye. Elbet Rewşa awerte û

îstîsna di her tiştî de heye.

4- Peywira wî ya têkiliyên çandê: Ziman yekser diyardeyeke (fenomeneke) bi çandê ve girêdayî ye. Di navbera wan de têkilîyeke xurt heye. Ziman bi têkilên jiyanê ve girêdayî ye. Gelên bi cotkarî re mijûl be bi dehan peyv û têgehên cotkariyê dizanin. Di vî warî de zimanê wan pir dewlemend e. Ziman gorî erdnîgariyê jî diguhere. Gorî herêmên çiya, erdên bi avî, erdên bi dar û ber, zevî û bexçe peyvên zimên gorî wan dewlemend dibe û pêş ve diçe.

Her Ziman bi gotinên pêşiyên xwe, bi biwêjên xwe, bi destanên xwe, bi sitranên xwe, bi dua û nîfirên xwe, bi çîrokên xwe û bi babetên xwe yên wêjeyî dewlemend dibe û dikemile. Ev hemû gencîneyên ziman û çandê ne. Ev hemû jêderkên dewlemendiya zimên in. Ev hemû çanda neteweyê pêk tîne.

Dema gel an netewyekê were pişaftin, hew zimanê xwe wenda nakin, bi zimanê xwe re hemû ev nîrxên xwe yên çandî wenda dikin.

ZIMANÊ NIVÎSKÎ Û ZIMANÊ AXAFTINÊ

1. Naveroka zimanê axaftinê ne pir dagirtiye. Gorî pêwistiyên rojane ye. Zimanê nivîskî naveroka wî dagirtiye û berfireh e. Kûrahiya wî heye.
2. Di zimanê axaftinê de devokên herêmî hene. Di zimanê nivîskî de rêzik û qaydeyên giştî yê rêzimanê derbasdar e.
3. Zimanê axaftinê bê rêk û pêk û bê planî ye ji bo wê yekê vegotinên şaş tê de hene.. Zimanê nivîskî bi rêk û pêk e. Vegotinên wê durust e. Şaşıyên wî kêm in.
4. Zimanê axaftinê bê hizirîn û yekser tê axaftin. Tê de dubare zahf in, ji bo wî zêde dem digire. Derfeta sererastkirina wî tune ye. Zimanê nivîskî bi baldarî û bi hizirîn tê nivîsîn. Baş tê formulekirin. Dubarekirin tê de nîne û zêde demê nagire.
5. Zimanê axaftinê gorî kesan û herêman tên axaftinê. Di bilêvkirinê de dibe ku şaşî hebin û baş nayê fêhm kirin. Di zimanê Nivîskî de şaşıyê wisa pir kêm in.

ZIMANÊN MIRÎ

ZIMANEKÎ ÇAWA DÎMÎRE? GORÎ UNESCO'YÊ PÎVANA BIŞAVTINA ZIMÊN

Zimanên ku pê nayê axaftin jê re “Zimanên Mirî” tê gotin. Zimanê ku heta kesekî/ê jî pê biaxîfe, ew zimanê zindî ye. Ango ew zimanê nemirî ye.

Komeke xebatê ya bi UNESCO'yê ve girêdayî, zimanên ku li hemberê xetereyê rû bi rû ne, rewşa wan nirxandine û hinek krîteran tespît kirine.

Gorî van krîteran;

- A) Zimanekî di kîjan astî de, ji nesla (jenerasyon) dahatû re tê veguhastin?
- B) Çend kes bi wî zimanî diaxîfe?
- C) Di wê civakê de ji sedî çend kes bi wî zimanê diaxîfe?
- D) Bikaranîna zimên di kîjan mijarî de û di kîjan astê de ye?
- E) Di mijara cihêreng de asta zimên ya nû çi ye ?
- F) Ziman di kîjan asta perwerdehiyê de tê bikaranîn?
- G) Statuya zimên çi ye? Ewlehiya wî ya zagonî heye an na?
- H) Helwest û sekna civakê, di derbarê rewşa zimên de çi ye ?
- I) Ji bo wî zimanî materyal hene an na ? (Mînak, Ferheng, Pirtûka gramerê û hwd.)

Ji bo her xalekê penç puan tê dayîn. Dema puan were hesibandin rewşa zimên ya li hemberî xetereya bişaftinê tê zelalkirin. Xetereya wî zimanî ya hebûn û tunebûnê tê diyarkirin.

Ji bilê wan xalên li jorî, çar encamên girîng ên din jî hene.

1. Zimanekî ji aliyê her kesî ve were axaftin, di bin ewlehiyê de ye. Li pêşiya wî xetere tune ye.
2. Di civakekê de ku hinek zarok bi zimanê zikmakî bixîfin, hinek jî zimanê xwe yê zikmakî ji bir kiribin, êdî ew ziman ne di bin ewlehiyê de ye.
3. Zimanekî hew ji aliyê dê û bavê ve were axaftin di bin xetereyê pir mezin de ye.
4. Zimanê kû hew ji aliyê kal û pîran ve were axaftin, tê wateya ku di demeke nêzîk de, dê bimirê û ji holê rabe.

Ku gorî van pîvanên UNESCO'yê meriv ji bo zimanê Kurdî bifikirin, hezar mixabin rewşa wî di nava sînorê xeterê de ye.

Gorî likolînên zimanzanan êdî zimanê axaftinê li hemberî pergala perwerdehiyê nikare berxwe bide û li ser piya bisekine.

PÊWÎSTÎ Û GÎRÎNGIYA PERWERDEHIYA ZIMANÊ DAYÎKÊ

Zimanê diyîkê wesleyê ji kesatiya însên e. Di navbera zimanê dayîkê û helwest, xuy û xusletê însên de pêwendî û têkiliyê xurt heye. Ji taybetiyên herî girîng ê zimên yek jî çand e. Çand jî bi naverok û têgehên berfireh ve girêdayî ne. Di her ziman û çanda cûda de têgeh û têngîn, wateyên cûr be cûr di hundurê xwe de di hewînin. Ev hemû têgeh û têngîn xwe dispêrin tecrûbe û ezmûnên hezar salan.

Her zimanekî bi tena serê xwe xuy û xusletê xwe, taybetiyên xwe hene. Bi wergerê, bi naverokeke berfireh têgeh û girîngiyên wî nayê wergerandin.

Gorî lêkolînên herî dawî yê pedagojîyê, zarok hêj di hemla diya xwe de dengê diya xwe, dengê melodyê, xemgînî û bextewariya diya xwe hîs dike. Pedagog bingeha zimanê dayîkê dibin bi hemla dayîkê ve girê didin.

Tê gotin ku, zimanê dayîkê, zimanê yekemîn ê zaroka/ê ku ji dayîka xwe dibe ye. Hevnasîna zarok û zimên di serdema paşîya ji dayîkbûna wê/î dest pê dike. Zarok, heya heft saliya xwe hînê zimanê xwe yê dayîkê dibin.

Zarokên bi zimanê dayîka xwe perwerde nebûne, bi zimanêke din perwerde li ser wî/ê were ferzkirin serkeftî nabin û dibin xwedî pirsgirêk. Her du zimanan jî nivçê hîn dibin û bikartînin. Dibin xwedî nivzîmên. Di navbera du ziman û çandan de dimîne û di her du zimamanan de jî bi ser nakevin.

Îro rewşa zarokên Kurda, li Tirkîyeyê wiha ye. Di nava du zimanan de mane. Zarok ne baş Kurdî, ne jî baş Tirkî nizanin. Ji bo wê yekê, divê perwerde bi zimanê dayîkê were destpêkirin.. .

SÛD Û ENCAMÊN HÎNDEKARIYA ZIMANÊ DAYÎKÊ

- Zimanê dayîkê, di pêşketin û xurtkirina xwebaweriyê û xweewlehiyê de rol û risteke girîng dileyîze
- Bingeha behre û qabilîyeta hînbûnê pêk tîne.
- Hînbûna zanyarî, agahî, saloxiyên din û zimanê duyem û sêyem hêsan dike.
- Di civakê de hebûna kesên pîrzimanaxêf, ji bo wê ciwakê sûdewar e. Civakê bi awayî û bi her rengî dewlemendtir dike.

SÛD Û FEYDEYA DU ZIMANÎ Û PERWERDEHIYA ZIMANÊ DAYÎKÊ

Gelek dê û bav, di vê baweriyê de ne ku bi du zimanî axaftin û nivîsîn ji bo pêşketina zarokên wan bandoreke neyînî dike. Li ser vê mijarê, li welatên cûda, gelek pedagog û lêkolînerên perwerdehiyê lêkolîn û lêgerîn kirine. Gelo du zimanî li ser zarokan bandoreke baş an xerab dike? Ev bandorên baş û xerab çi ne? Cara yekem, di vê mijarê de di sala 1923'an de WALET lêkolîneke berfireh kiriye. Lêkolîna wî bi salan domiyaye. Di vî warî de lêkolîna herî encamgirtî û bandorker, di sala 1962'an de, lêkolînera Kanadî, Elizabeth Peal kiriye. Elizabeth Peal bi wan lêkolînê xwe, encamên erênî bi dest xistiye. Gelek lêkolînerên din jî li ser vê mijarê xebitînin.

Hemû perwerdekar û lêkolîneran li ser mijara, du zimanî rol û risteke mezin di pêşketina zarokan de dileyîze. Perwerdehî û hîndekariya du zimanî, bi pîralî xwendekaran ji aliyê zanist, naverok, xuy û xuslet û kesatiyê de xurt û dewlemend dike, li hev kirine.

DI DU ZIMANÎ DE SÛD Û BIDESEXISTINA KESATÎ

- Kesatiyeke xurt tê bidestxistin.
- Xwedî li mîrateya keleşor, çand û zimanê xwe derdikevin.
- Cîhana wî/wê ya fikir û ramanê dewlemendtir dibe.
- Bi alîkariya zimanê dayîkê, bi hêsanî zimanêke din hîn dibin.

- Kesatiyeke xurt bi dest dixin û bixwebaweri ya wî/wê pêşta diçe.
- Digihîje hişmendiya rol û rista xwe. Hest û daxwazên wî/wê yên alikariyê xurt dibin.
- Feraseta wî/wê ya wekheviyê dikemile û pêş ve diçe.
- Berpirsiyariyê hildide ser milê xwe.
- Di qada civakî de serkeftî dibe
- Daxwazên wî/wê yên likolîn û ligerînê pêş dikevin.
- Bilî ziman û çanda xwe, têkiliyên xwe bi kom û grûbên çand û zimanên din re xurt dikin..

**Çavkanî : Perwerdehiya bi zimanê dayîkê û pirzimanîya fermî. (Anadili eğitimi ve birden fazla resmi dil)
AMED TÎGRÎS**

Çavkanî : Kürtçe Dil Ve Eğitim Hakları Çeto ÖZEL

Mamoste BERJENG BRAHÎM

Recommendations to Turkish authorities

Jagiellonian University in Krakow (Poland)

Given Turkey's history and future aspirations to political and social progress and modernity, the Turkish government should seriously and profoundly reconsider its standpoint on the Kurdish population. It is sensible then, on the one hand, to resist temptation to revert to hard-line mono-ethnic and mono-linguistic policy that in the past induced an approach toward the Kurds described often as 'linguicide through invisibilisation'. On the other hand, the Turkish authorities shouldn't cling to the oversimplified and unfair view that automatically links Kurdish language and culture with separatism and terrorism. Instead, the Turkish government should try to take inspiration from the mistakes and positive results of other countries' experiences in implementing open policies towards ethnic minorities. It should overcome its long-lasting fear of application of a democratic-friendly strategy to the Kurdish ethnic group since most of them, as other Turkish citizens, pursue nothing more than the equal participation in benefits of liberal, capitalist and democratic development. Not as a stark contrast to their cultural or ethnic identity but as a fundamental right of all the citizens, with no discrimination on any grounds such as race, language, culture, religion, national extraction, social origin or association with ethnic minority.

The idea of a rethought Turkish approach towards the Kurdish population is to put stress on dialogue rather than confrontation. The Turkish authorities should not try to search for enemies, but rather work to discern partners among Kurds in the entire population's contribution to the country's sustainable economic, social, educational, tourism and cultural development, as well as in a fair participation in benefits of this development. Such approach requires implementation of a new multi-ethnic and multicultural policy that will ensure all ethnic groups fair and equal rights and opportunities in education and professional contexts without any discrimination on the basis of language or ethnicity. In moving forward such a multi-ethnic strategy, the Turkish government should find support with European institutions such as the Council of Europe, the European Union (the European Commission and Parliament with its number of committees) as well as the United Nations. One of the first advisable steps that will assist in defining frames and guiding to principles of a reliable multi-cultural policy,

would be for Turkey to ratify the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities.

The Turkish authorities are expected then to provide the Kurds with good reasons to appreciate the Turkish power by showing respect to their language and culture, as a part of the Turkish state's history and reality. By opposing or obliterating their language, the Turkish government makes the Kurds more likely to react with a similar attitude to the Turkish state; i.e. with suspicion, reserve, animosity, antagonism or even enmity. On the contrary, by viewing Turkey as a state respectful towards its people's cultural diversity, the Kurds are by far more prone to accept the Turkish state and live in peaceful coexistence with the Turks in one country.

Practically, the Turkish authorities should ease constraints on opening and functioning primary and secondary schools, as well as universities' units, with Kurdish language, both private and public, respecting parents' right to choose education for their children. There is no doubt that, without introducing the Kurdish language into the public educational system in compliance with the principles of democracy and equality, a real multicultural policy in Turkey will be, in fact, impossible.

All postulated changes should be included within the framework of the Turkish law system including the new Constitution of the Turkish Republic, which would provide the Kurdish people (as well as other minorities) with official recognition and legal security. Otherwise, any attempts to settle the conflict made by Turkish or Kurdish politicians will always be called "cosmetic changes" and "pipe-dreams" that do not lead to real and long term peace and stability.

Reconciliation should also have a social aspect – in initiatives stimulating dialogue and mutual respect between Turks and Kurds. This can consist of: cultural and educational events, shared boards of scientists and specialists and public consultations open for participation of every citizen.

Recommendations to European institutions

It is necessary to support all initiatives concerning inter-ethnic and inter-cultural dialogue existing in Turkey and help to create new ones. The Turkish government should be supported in attempts at bringing about peaceful dialogue and overcoming legal and economic inequalities. The European institutions should, on the one hand, urge the Turkish government to ratify the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, to implement a real multicultural social policy and observe Turkey's progress in fulfilling political criteria of accession to the EU and other international commitments. On the other hand, they are required to encourage the Turkish authorities to continue dialogue with Kurdish organisations and representatives based on goodwill and acknowledgement of their equal and fundamental civil rights and freedoms i.e. freedom of expression, speech or association. At the same time they should endeavour to dispel Turkish's traditional fear of Kurdish separatism. This might be achieved by inviting both Turkish and Kurdish policymakers, MPs, officials and teachers to conferences and seminars on multi-language and multicultural policies organised in European countries. Inviting them on study visits to educational institutions, including schools and universities, in European countries, is also highly advisable.

The EU should also actively engage itself in promoting Kurdish cultural heritage and contemporary cultural activities and making them more accessible. This could help to mute the military conflict between the Turkish state and the Kurdish guerrillas. This would allow the Kurds to speak and to be heard also by the Turkish neighbours who often associate them exclusively with terrorists. Furthermore, it may help to present the Kurdish people as respectful members of the contemporary world and thus to make their culture interesting and worth knowing. Therefore, the Turkish authorities who often associate Kurdish culture with dangerous separatism, may see it as an advantage to build and strengthen stability and promote a positive view of the country.

Recommendations to Kurdish institutions

In order to preserve Kurdish culture, Kurdish institutions should focus on continuing their peaceful attempts to teach children and adults the Kurdish language, organising folk events and introducing their literature, poetry, traditional and modern music and customs to Turks and foreigners; thus fighting the unjust stereotype of uneducated and rebellious Kurds. They should seek partners for dialogue among Turkish policymakers and intellectual elite, which would allow them to express their expectations and listen to Turkish fear. While introducing the Kurdish language into the Turkish educational system, it could be useful to search for European partners as well, e.g. by using their diaspora connections, and learning from European countries' experiences in multi-linguistic and multicultural education.

A deeply human right. Conclusion about the use of the mother tongue. – Dirk Rochtus

The British historian Benedict Anderson (1936 - 2015) enriched the theory of nationalism with the notion that although 'the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion'ⁱ. As an answer to the challenges of the Industrial Age the nation-state would impose on the citizens of this 'imagined community' the use of one language. There are a lot of historical examples to prove this: France where at the time of the French Revolution half of the people spoke another language than French, Belgium where in the 19th century French was the sole official language, South Africa where the African National Congress (ANC) wants to push through the monopoly of English in a multi-ethnic and multilingual society, and Turkey where article 42 of the Constitution stipulates that 'No language other than Turkish shall be thought as mother tongue to Turkish citizens at any institutions of training or education.'

The Jacobin French state has managed to subdue all other languages than French. Yet there is a wish of many French citizens in several regions of the state to learn more about the language and culture of their ancestors. In the north of France for instance, in a region which once was a part of the historical Flanders, more and more people want to learn Dutch, the language which is spoken in the Flemish region of neighbouring Belgium. It may be true that economic motives, the desire to get a job in adjacent Flanders, play an important role. That wish would however not be so strong if these people would not want to rediscover their French-Flemish identity. Why does Flanders attract so many people of northern France? Once upon a time, more exactly in the 19th century, it was called 'arm Vlaanderen' (poor Flanders). Today Flanders has economically prospered and is accountable for more than 80 percent of the Belgian export. That economic prosperity has come into existence because Flanders was able to preserve its culture and language despite the original monopoly of the French language in Belgium. In the 19th century the French-speaking bourgeoisie of Belgium despised the Dutch language of the Flemings which she called 'Flemish' in order to reduce it to a meaningless dialect. By separating 'Flemish' from the Dutch that was spoken in The Netherlands the francophone Belgian elites wanted to split up the Dutch language community and make it look smaller. The impression was created that 'Flemish' was a dialect which did not lend itself to higher education. The

Belgian cardinal Mercier (1851-1926) was convinced of the intellectual superiority of the French language. To Flemish priests he said: 'Moi je suis d'une race destinée à dominer et vous d'une race destinée à servir' ('I belong to a race predestined to rule and you to a race predestined to serve'). So the language policy also served as an instrument to establish power relations. Those speaking in this way forgot however that Dutch was also the language of The Netherlands which has been an important trade nation since the 17th century and had and still has a rich intellectual, academic and scientific life. A Flemish Movement arose in Belgium that aimed at the equality of the French and Dutch language and the use of the Dutch language, next to French, in Flanders (not in the rest of Belgium). As the Belgian establishment resisted these demands the Flemish Movement became more and more radical and the result today is that Dutch is now the sole official language in Flanders (where French kept that status in Wallonia). The Flemings have not forgotten how their language was discriminated by the French-speaking establishment which needed time to understand that the times were a-changing. Before Belgium started to adapt language laws at the turn of the 19th and the 20th century, strengthening the position of the Dutch language, Flemish school children who were caught speaking their mother tongue in the schoolyard had to wear dog ears. So the story of Berfin is very recognizable for Flemings, e.g. when they read the following sentences: 'Penalties were put in place for children who were caught speaking Kurdish in school, and the children had to pay dearly for the small refuge of speaking in their native language - with beatings, exclusion from school or the penalty of standing on one leg.' The peaceful struggle of the Flemish Movement was a long and tough one, but the result is that the Dutch language recovered its place and became the official language of the Flemish Community of Belgium. Nowadays Flanders is a region that flourishes in the economical, cultural, scientific aspects and is a free and open society which has secured its place in a globalized world.

The speakers of Afrikaans – a language which springs from 17th century Dutch – also had to conduct a tough language battle in South Africa. The story of Afrikaans, the language of 2.7 million white Afrikaners and 3.4 million coloured people, is one of 'running and stumbling, of stumbling and raising again' as the historian Jaap Steyn writes in the book '*Ons gaan 'n taal maak*'ⁱⁱ (We are going to shape a language). Afrikaans first had to emancipate itself from the standard Dutch language, then it had to fight against the disdain of the English-speaking elites calling it 'kitchen-Dutch' and in recent years it is struggling to throw off the odium of having

been the language of 'Apartheid'. Today it is one of the eleven official languages in South Africa, next to English and the so-called Bantu languages, and it is developing a rich cultural life. The struggle however is not over yet. In an open letter in a Flemish internet magazine an Afrikaner intellectual put his finger on the real blot when writing: 'I cannot identify myself with the injury done to a settled language of Africa like Afrikaans and its speakers.'ⁱⁱⁱ The author of these words, Heinrich Matthee, a Netherlands-based political analyst, laid down his mandate as a researcher at the 'Universiteit van die Vrystaat' in Bloemfontein (South Africa) as a protest against the new language policy in his native country which since 11 March 2016 has turned English into the main language in education and administration. Matthee characterized Afrikaans as an 'Afrikataal, a language that in contrast to English is born in Africa, and that is spoken not only by white, but also by coloured and black people.' A similar thought is to be found with Flip Buys, who is the head of 'Solidariteit', a South African trade union that stands up for the rights of minorities and their different languages^{iv}, when he says that the dominating role of English in South Africa is 'the final victory of colonialism'^v. When the ANC took over power in the nineties of last century, it started from the idea 'We have the country in our hands, now we must build a nation' with the English language as the mortar of the nation-building process. According to Buys the problem is that the 'national language' in practice means 'poor English'. It is the reason why so many black youngsters are performing so badly at school. Education in the own language – Afrikaans or Zulu or Xhosa or one of the other Bantu languages – is a 'vehicle for modernization', as Buys calls it. The preclusions in this book point also to the fact that 'Mother tongue training and education makes learning easier for a person and brings success'. The struggle that Matthee and Buys are conducting for the own languages of South Africa's peoples, is also a struggle for cultural federalism so that minorities won't lose their identity. It is a story that sounds familiar to Flemings, and to Kurds, but not to Turks who have grown up with the idea of one state/one language.

That reminds us of the following case. On 13 January 2011, a Turkish court reopened a judicial proceeding in Amed/Diyarbakır against 152 Turkish Kurds, one half being local politicians, the other half being staff members of Kurdish organizations. The indictment was that they threatened the 'unity of the state' or that they had ties with 'terrorist organizations'. The trial originally started on 18 October 2010, but was shortly thereafter postponed because the defendants had requested to have the cause pleaded in Kurdish. When one of them answered

in Kurdish, the judge said that he used an 'unknown language'. It reminds us of the Belgian situation, more precisely of the trial in 1860 of Coucke and Goethals, two Flemish labourers who, on the accusation of murder, were condemned to death by the French-speaking Court of Mons (Wallonia/Belgium). Because both men did not understand French, they had not been able to demonstrate their innocence which was later discovered. The defense of the accused Kurdish people referred to Article 39/5 of the Treaty of Lausanne which stipulates that 'adequate facilities shall be given to Turkish nationals of non-Turkish speech for the oral use of their language.' The judge did not react to this although the same treaty is the internationally sealed birth act of the Turkish republic. Language still remains a sore subject in Turkey. When the pro-Kurdish party BDP advocated the use of the Kurdish language at a local level, the then president Abdullah Gül stressed that Turkish is the sole official language and that other languages are an 'enrichment' for the country. The Turkish general staff was less diplomatic by making a statement that bilingualism (Turkish and Kurdish) would endanger the unitary state.

The Kurdish issue is much more than a socio-economic problem as Turkish politicians tend to think and say. As the case of Flanders has demonstrated, there is a correlation between the protection and official use of the own language and the flourishing of economy, trade and cultural life. The organization of the state in accordance with cultural differences within the society, e.g. by providing cultural autonomy or the right to education in the own language, also benefits democracy. The administration comes much closer to the people – in German this is called 'Bürgernähe', closeness to the citizen – and the citizen gets much more control on government and administration. The European Union (EU) can serve here as an example: the need for translation of all documents in the official languages of the EU results from the concern that every citizen has the right to be addressed in his or her own language. Even if every citizen of the EU would understand English, he or she would miss the finesses that are inherent to a foreign language. It is in the interest of the European democracy to be multilingual. It also is a deeply human right to use the mother tongue, not only in daily life, but also on higher echelons where state and citizen meet each other.

A first step towards the solution of the Kurdish issue in Turkey would be the recognition by the Turkish state that there are people who speak Kurdish as a language, and not just a 'Kurdish dialect', and that they would have the right to use this language, not only at home, but also on an official level. That change of mentality would mean the overcoming of the Sèvres syndrome

which still inspires the fears that another culture or the use of another language would threaten the existence of the Turkish state. Homogeneous states are a rarity in the world as well as multi-ethnic states that obstinately refuse to recognize the rights their minorities are entitled to. So the Turkish establishment and the Turkish people should learn to make this mental click from the modern to the postmodern state, which integrates multi-ethnicity and multilingualism in its structures and institutions. As long as the Turkish state does not look with an open eye to 'the Other' within its own society, it will not be able to vanquish the distrust in the EU towards Turkey. The EU has been built upon the diversity of languages and cultures, even within its own member states (like Belgium, Hungary, Spain, just to name some of them). The Europeans cannot conceive of another kind of Europe. It is in the interest of Turkey to make the richness of its cultures tangible in its structures. Turkey will not go down as the Turkish Kurds get the right to use their own language at the official level. On the contrary, it would reinforce the loyalty of the Turkish Kurds to a state that would be so magnanimous to recognize their selfhood.

Dr. Dirk Rohtus, associate professor of International Relations at the KU Leuven (Flanders/Belgium).

ⁱ Anderson, Benedict R. O'G. (1991). *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (Revised and extended. ed.). London 1991, pp. 6–7.

ⁱⁱ J.C. Steyn, 'Ons gaan 'n taal maak'. *Afrikaans sedert die Patriot-Jare*, Kraal Uitgewers, Pretoria 2014, p. 523.

ⁱⁱⁱ <http://www.doorbraak.vlaanderen/nl/nieuws/afrikaans-op-de-helling-zuid-afrika>

^{iv} www.solidariteit.co.za

^v Interview with Dirk Rohtus, Antwerpen, 2 May 2016.